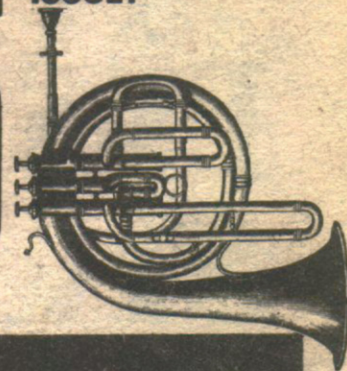


IN THESE TIMES

SPECIAL
ANNIVERSARY
ISSUE!



Vol. 2, No. 1

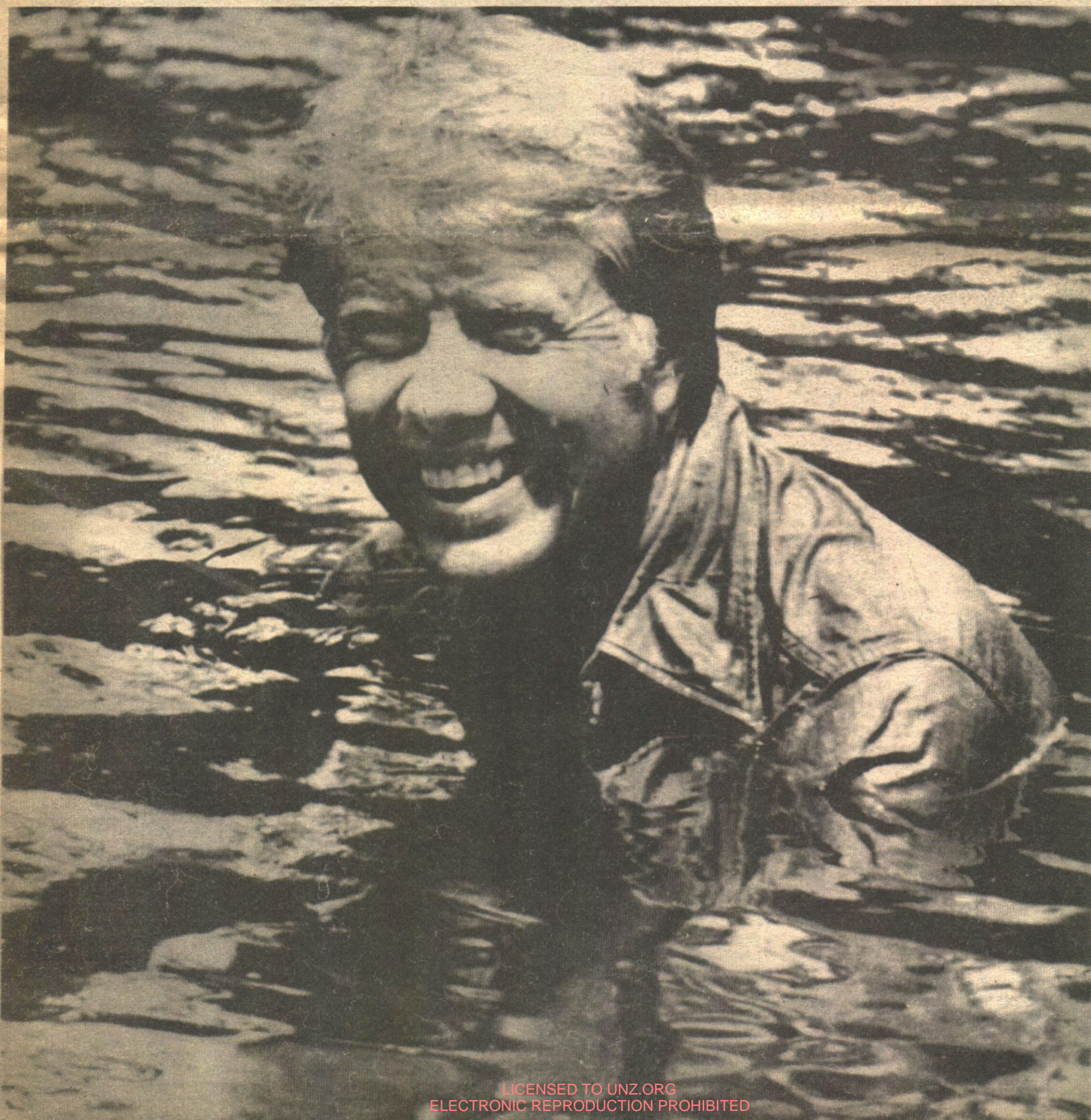
Nov. 16-22, 1977

40 Cents

Whither America

Carter in 1984	14
State of labor	3
Women in the '70s	20
Sports: a 'macho' debate	23

In These Times begins its second year with a retrospective and prospective on people and politics.



THE INSIDE STORY

Guest column by James Aronson



Carl Bernstein

American press: arm of government?

Opening remarks for the panel titled "Government Influences on the Media," at the conference on Media Ethics: Problems and Pressures, at Boston University, Nov. 3 and 4, 1977. The conference was sponsored by the Institute for Democratic Communication.

People ask me, what do you call yourself these days—writer or teacher? It gives me pause. Usually I say, both. Which is true. But in a sense I come to you today from a third world of journalism—that of the media critic, a lonesome occupation when I first undertook it, but a growing industry today.

I have had the experience of two other worlds of journalism—the general or commercial press for a dozen years, and the radical press for a dozen and a half more. And now, for not quite a dozen, as historian, analyst and teacher of journalism.

Thus I approach the question here today with a triple vision, you might say—straight, left and gadfly. I trust you will not regard what I have to say to you as thrice blurred.

As a media watcher, I have frequently been critical of the press in the area of press-government relations—of the owners, the editorial managers, and sometimes the journalists themselves. As for the government end, I have never doubted—ever since George Washington pried his axe loose from that cherry tree stump and aimed it at his newspaper adversaries—that the first and every succeeding national administration has sought to manage the news, a phrase lately gone out of fashion. In fact, I am persuaded that the Father of Our Country chopped down that tree in order to deplete the future supply of wood pulp for newsprint.

Every administration—in Washington, or a state

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capital, or in a city—seeks to present itself in the most favorable light possible, and tries to manipulate anything in sight to achieve that end. Any journalist who does not accept that as basic would be well advised to go into dentistry, or some other painless profession. Or into government, as many have.

Press has changed.

Down through the decades we find that on the government's side little has changed. The pressures have rarely abated. They ebb and flow with the needs of each administration and the ego and insecurity of the incumbent administration. But on the press side, particularly in the extreme and critical cold war years, there was a distinct change. There was a heavier record of submission to government pressure and a consequent increase in government influence. At times there was acquiescence to government policy with no pressure at all.

I do not maintain that the press must at all times stand fixed in an adversary position to government. Even if this were desirable, reality renders it impossible. The chairman of the board of a vast conglomerate, which owns a chain of profitable newspapers, is not going to be easily persuaded that it is his responsibility under the First Amendment to seek repeal, say, of the Newspaper Preservation Act. This is a law that preserves not newspapers but the profits of a monopoly situation in a given area, and therefore stifles diversity of opinion by making it impossible for new papers to publish.

But surely the press, under our system, should be willing at all times to take up an adversary stance to government regarding issues pursuant to life, liberty and happiness.

It has not.

Arm of government.

Too many years ago, across the river and into the Yard, when I regarded Alexander Pope as more significant to history than Pope Alexander (all eight of them), I was informed that a little learning is a dangerous thing. Not true. While I favor deeper drinking at that well-known spring, even a little learning of history can open the closet to many a dangerous thing; and the history of the press through the Cold War period—and beyond—reveals that it flirted dangerously with becoming a virtual arm of government on basic policy. The flirtation, I must primly report, is not entirely over.

The cover phrase, as it has always been, is "In the interest of national security." Under this cover, sometimes in response to pressure, sometimes not, there has been a fairly steady abdication of press responsibility. This, to my mind, has operated against genuine national security and against the national interest as well. The following come easily to mind:

- The U-2 spy flights over the Soviet Union in the 1950s. Editors and correspondents of the *New York Times* and other papers knew about them—even as the flights were being denied—and published nothing. Then the flash-bulb photos of the downed U-2 plane and its pilot, Gary Powers, exploded in President Eisenhower's face in Paris in 1960 at the aborted meeting with Khrushchev.

- The background and the facts of the origins of the war in Korea in 1950 and the sham of the United Nations Command there. Yes, Virginia, there was another Korea story before Tong Sun Park.

- The CIA-sponsored invasion of Guatemala in 1954 and the overthrow of the democratically-elected government of Jacobo Arbenz. And the repeat performance in the Dominican Republic in the Johnson administration.

- The role of the press in the making—and the unmaking—of Sen. Joe McCarthy and the whole Time of the Toad, misnamed the McCarthy Era.

- The origins of the war in Southeast Asia, and the abysmal press coverage of the American operation there in the early phases—with some splendidly honorable exceptions.

- The Cuban story: the Bay of Pigs and the Missile Crisis, and in general what Herbert Matthews of the *Times* called one of the most miserably reported stories in his 35 years in journalism.

- The FBI story and that ancient sacred bull named John Edgar Hoover. Will anyone dare tell me that the press did not know a good chunk of the real history of that horrible half-century career?

- How do we confront the story of Daniel Schorr, and what the press almost let the government do to him before its crisis of conscience? Instead of the Dan Schorr story, we got the story of The Man Nobody Loved. Who gives a damn whether he's lovable or not? The question was, and is: What did he do and should he have been supported in his right to do it?

- The Glomar story, the great submarine fiasco, a near-billion dollar CIA boondoggle with overtones of idiocy which any editor should have rushed into print. Instead, Sy Hersh of the *Times* was told by his editors to get off the story and go cover the Dodgers for a while, and there were touchingly grateful calls to cooperating editors and reporters from the Chief of Spooks Colby.

- And finally, what about Carl Bernstein's deeply disturbing report about the press and the CIA in *Rolling Stone*? Not a startling news beat, but what a fine piece of digging and fleshing out of a skimpily-told tale. Where are all the questions that should be asked in the press in its wake? Never mind those innocent queries from publishers and managers to the CIA for the names of the naughty ones. Doesn't William S. Paley know his own name?

Return to public service.

I know I have turned the title of this panel around a bit, but not entirely. I do not blink at the persistent and pernicious role of government. I have borne hostile witness as a journalist to this before two inquisitorial committees of Congress. But it is a matter of emphasis in part, and determining who should never have been in business together in the first place.

You may say to me: Pentagon Papers, Watergate, Reporters' Privilege, and Lancegate. And I may say: Hooray! One cheer or two, and surely four for the reporters who told John Mitchell and Company to go to hell, and then refused to reveal their sources.

We do have to unscramble the word "press" into its component parts for degrees of condemnation and commendation: the conglomerates on the top, the publishers just below, the editors who run the shops, the men and women who work there, and the people who read the papers. That all spells "press."

Have I been too harsh on this press? I don't think so. Frank, perhaps, and I do not separate myself out. The press has been my whole life, and I would do it all over again if I had the opportunity. If we do not criticize ourselves and look to change, who will? Most likely, the government. Do I think the publishers will change? Not without great pressure—from another entity that often gets lost in the shuffle of debate—the reading public.

The first step is knowledge. If the public is educated to the facts and the options in the press industry, and about how it operates vis-a-vis government, there is hope that it will demand a next step: a return by the press to the public service. That is in the national interest.

So drink a little or a lot, and help turn that Pierian spring into a fountain of truth to water the parched minds of a nation.

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THE STATE OF THE UNIONS

Old weakness, new strength

By Dan Marshall

The organized labor movement, like an aging locomotive, has explored the hills and valleys of American capitalism for more than a century. Now, as the economy slowly pulls out of a recession, the labor movement appears to be stalled. Opinions abound about what is wrong and what the future will bring.

The general state of labor is weaker than at any time since the open shop days of the 1920s and early '30s. In the wake of declines in membership, intensified management attacks and the flight of industries to low-wage areas, even the ossified hierarchy of the AFL-CIO has started to scramble desperately for solutions. Their efforts, along with the input of forward-looking leaders suggesting new organizing strategies, present some hope that labor will begin chugging ahead in the foreseeable future.

Union busting.

The greatest obstacle to the present and potential power of organized labor is the ability of companies to "maintain non-union status" by using the techniques of behavioral psychology and the services of professional "labor relations consultants," backed, if need be, by more traditional forms of violence and intimidation.

Today's workers "face the law of the jungle and the professional strikebreakers just as surely as their grandfathers did," declared AFL-CIO president George Meany in a recent speech. "Today's labor relations consultants carry briefcases instead of brass knuckles and they leave no visible marks on their victims. But their job is the same—frustrate human hopes and nullify human rights."

In a period when many companies are considering moving plants or closing old production facilities, the entire structure of labor/management relations is up for grabs. In this context, the possibility of avoiding unions, deemphasized since the general acceptance of unionization during the 1940s, has resurfaced as a major concern of corporate management.

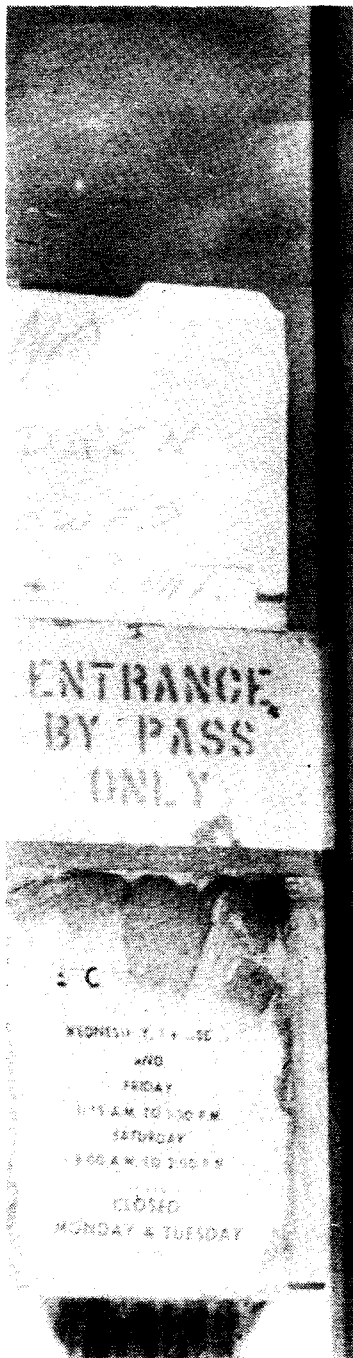
Firms like Advanced Management Research, Inc. and Executive Enterprises, Inc., convene seminars around the country where local managers, for a \$450-\$550 fee, learn how to delay representation elections, legally intimidate employees and prepare subtle anti-union propaganda (see page 4). Hundreds of smaller firms, working on a contract-by-contract basis, have been recorded by the U.S. Department of Labor.

Their impact is reflected in the shifting pattern of National Labor Relations Board figures. In the year ending June 30, 1976, unions won less than half the representation elections conducted by the NLRB, down from 62 percent a decade ago. The number of decertification elections, petitioned by employees but actively encouraged by management, almost tripled during the same period. Unions lost 73 percent of all "decerts" in 1976.

Despite these ominous statistics, neither the AFL-CIO nor individual unions have formulated a coherent, coordinated strategy to grapple with the union-busting professionals. The legal and organizing staffs of most internationals have not notably increased in the last five years. Organizers are accorded low status and minimal tactical or research training in many unions, where high status comes from collective bargaining experience.

Declining membership.

The future looks even bleaker when union membership rolls are analyzed. The total number of union members steadily increased through the '60s and early '70s, although union members as a percentage of the work force dropped. Now, union membership in absolute terms is declining. Unions and employee associations lost 346,000 members between 1974 and 1976, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Labor organizations now represent about 23 percent of the labor force.



Jane Meirick

Union membership in absolute terms is now declining, while the percentage of workers has been declining for several years, now standing at 23 percent.

This drop is due primarily to high recessionary unemployment rates, layoffs and plant shutdowns in highly-unionized, mass production industries. Job combinations, speedup and job displacement from technological innovations have also taken a toll.

In the basic steel industry, for example, which is 90 percent unionized, some 19,000 workers have been fired or laid off in the last few months. Zenith Corp., the last "Buy American" holdout in a television industry that is primarily foreign-based, announced in September that it would soon eliminate 5,000 production jobs. The story is similar, if not as extreme, in the rubber, household equipment manufacturing, and textile industries.

Companies and unions blame cheap foreign imports for these layoffs. But below-the-surface investigation shows that poor management decisions, unmodernized facilities and over-capacity are more likely causes. Zenith's management, for instance, vastly overestimated the growth of the color television market in 1971 and expanded its production facilities. When television sales dropped, it was only a matter of time before they cut their work force.

Labor unions have done nothing, however, to challenge management investment priorities, speedup or other privately-made decisions which have led to economic destruction for some communities and an unfolding pattern of "deindustrialization" in the Midwest and Northeast. Instead, unions have allied with their business counterparts in steel, textile, electrical and other industries in calling for import quotas—at best a band-aid cure for fundamental economic problems.

Organizing is also meeting more resistance in the public and service sectors—the two fastest growing areas of the economy.

Hostility to public employee unions has increased on the part of local politicians and the public because of widely-publicized strikes and financial crises in New York City and other urban centers. Even the growth of the State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the fair-haired-boy of the labor movement, which has maintained a spectacular organizing pace, has begun to slow.

Legislative setbacks.

The weakened economic clout of labor is duplicated in the legislative arena. The AFL-CIO and individual unions mounted an impressive effort to elect Jimmy Carter president, spending the equivalent of \$20 million. But neither Carter nor the Congress has repaid with across-the-board support for labor-backed legislation.

The AFL-CIO's most unexpected and disastrous defeat came last March when the House of Representatives dumped the common situs picketing bill, designed to strengthen construction unions against open shop contractors (ITT, May 10). That defeat, caused by inept lobbying and the widespread perception that the bill stemmed from labor's narrow self-interest, undermined labor's whole legislative agenda this year.

The first thing to go was repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, the provision that enables states to pass right-to-work laws. Then an early version of labor law reform was modified to gain presidential support and placate congressional opposition. When the minimum wage bill came up in the House, the indexing pro-

vision was cut out. Most recently, the cargo preference bill, backed by maritime unions, was killed.

This string of political setbacks is primarily due, congressional observers say, to organized labor's negative public image and their failure to understand younger Democratic legislators who are not inclined to stick their necks out and approve a bill when public support is not evident.

Some improvement.

Labor's political fortunes appear to be improving, however. It has won several legislative victories that, in conjunction with leadership changes in some unions and the development of new strategies, indicates that labor's progressive wing is gaining influence. The new approaches advocated by these unions and rank and file activists may hold the key to the forward progress of all of organized labor.

The biggest boost came with passage of labor law reform by the House last month. For years labor has complained about deficiencies in the NLRA that allow employers to delay representation elections and fire union partisans with impunity. Now labor is on the edge of forcing passage of legislation that would assist organizing efforts by increasing sanctions against companies that use illegal tactics to fight unionization.

Credit for the victory goes to labor's intensive lobbying pressure, a well-executed congressional strategy and, most importantly, the formation of a broad-based support coalition that encompassed minority, women's, environmentalist, consumer and religious organizations. The

Continued on page 4.

LABOR

A new breed of union busters

By Dick Wilson

Alfred T. De Maria is tough and smart. He is an excellent speaker and an experienced organizer. His skilled trade is union-busting: a journeyman in anti-union campaigns, surface bargaining and decertification elections.

There are dozens, perhaps hundreds, like De Maria. They are high-priced consultants, most of them lawyers, who give advice and actually run campaigns to get rid of unions.

Some employers still use direct threats, physical force, and similar kinds of intimidation to keep the union out. And these methods still work just as they did in the past. But the tactics of union-busting have become more sophisticated in places where crude techniques might backfire.

Anti-union consultants, like De Maria, are no longer contractors for thugs. Today, in new environments, they use a variety of psychological and sociological weapons. They still trade in fear, but as George Meany has pointed out, they now come with briefcases instead of clubs.

Usually, De Maria works on the front lines directing anti-union assaults, either for a single corporation or for an industry association.

On the day I saw him, however, he was acting as a teacher. The subject was titled "Winning Organizational Campaigns." It was the first day of a seminar on How to Maintain Non-union Status, run by Executive Enterprises, Inc.

The class was made up of over 40 corporate officials with titles like project administrator, president, personnel manager, vice president, plant manager, assistant treasurer, general manager, and a host of others. The "students" represented a great variety of firms—from electrical and steel companies to nationwide fast food chains, down to medium-sized companies.

We met in Chicago at the Hyatt Regency Hotel. It was one of many seminars put on by Executive Enterprises, Inc. throughout the country. If you already have a union and want to get rid of it, De Maria also teaches a separate course on "The Process of Decertification."

Begin early.

But today, it was beating back the union before they ever get in. And De Maria takes it step by step.

Even before a union arrives on the scene, he warns the students to have "No Trespassing" signs posted. You are then ready when an organizer comes around to have him physically thrown

out of the building or off the parking lot.

Further, establish plant rules right now that prohibit employees from returning to work after they have gone home or from staying after the shift is over. With this rule, you plant land mines for union activists. "If he violates a known and published rule—you can fire him," says De Maria. "That way, you not only cut off access for the union, you get rid of one of their prime movers and frighten others."

De Maria points out, "It's the organizer who is going to make the union come to life in your particular plant; not the union as an abstract institution, but an individual." It's the organizer whom people come to like and trust. So it is important to discredit him or her as soon as possible.

The basic strategy outlined in class is an aggressive anti-union campaign as soon as the employer gets a hint of a union organizer on the scene.

The first step is discrediting what the organizer says. And since the organizer depends on authorization cards as a necessary element in getting an election, De Maria maps out campaign literature that will frighten people off from signing cards.

The employees will be more afraid to sign cards if you tell them not to. "It's legal to urge people not to sign cards," he stresses. The early anti-union literature should also discredit the union's claim that the cards are kept confidential: strike two in the campaign to frighten people. An employee who feels that the employer will find out at the supervisory level and at higher levels—will hesitate to sign, De Maria points out. He ignores the truth that cards are kept confidential.

The company propaganda campaign before the election petition is filed will not be the basis for setting aside an election later on. So almost anything goes during this period. For example, De Maria suggests, "put out the word that the plant is going to move down South if the union comes in." There is little the union can do to counter. All it can do is get an order making you say you won't do it anymore... "We will stop."

Go for the supervisors.

After the petition is in, De Maria warns you may want to be more careful because it could mean the union could have an election set aside. However, if an election is scheduled and it doesn't look good for the company, he advises "pull out all the stops. Take the risk."

Key to Executive Enterprises' program is the first line supervisor. "Who," asks De Maria, "is the company?" He an-

swer: "In the eye of the employee, it is the supervisor." Training the supervisors to fight the union every day on the job is essential.

"You can't campaign from the top only," stresses De Maria; "You have lost it if the real job of persuasion isn't done on a day-to-day basis by the supervisor."

There are no illusions on De Maria's part that supervisors will automatically join right in to help the company. "All managements tend to assume supervisors are on our side. Sad to say, this is not true at all. Scratch the skin of a supervisor and you'll find a rank-and-file employee."

Ever since Taft-Hartley, supervisors have had no rights to organize—no legal protections if they become involved in a union. With supervisors vulnerable to company discipline, De Maria has a powerful weapon in his work to "motivate them" to fight the union. But he doesn't rely on just a stick—he works to convince the supervisors that it is in their self-interest to fight the union.

Details are given in class on how to "Motivate" the supervisors, but De Maria also provides complete materials in a 214-page notebook—including transcripts of actual training sessions he has run with supervisors. It is part of the "communications package" that goes with the tuition of \$450 for the two-day training. (A discount of only \$385 each is given if a company sends more than one person.)

Time and again, De Maria points to the importance of maintaining exclusive access to the employees on the job through one-to-one contact and group meetings. Meanwhile, the union organizer is shut out from speaking to the employees.

Control over communication with employees is one of the reasons he gives for urging management never to take up offers to debate the union organizer. "The answer has to be 'no'," argues De Maria.

Southern organizing campaigns are also being stepped up by the UAW, which unionized a crucial General Motors plant in Louisiana last year, and by the Furniture Workers union, which is expected to announce a campaign to unionize 100 small furniture plants in North Carolina. AFSCME is now trying to organize 60,000 public employees in Florida as well.

A tougher attitude.

These "progressive stirrings" in organized labor are partially in reaction to management intransigence and to rank and file sentiments. As labor unions and their leaders are pushed into a corner, the likelihood increases that they will have to fight to get out.

The alienation of many members from their unions has been well documented and is reflected in low turnouts in union elections, contract rejections, the prevalence of wildcat strikes in the mining and trucking industries, and dissatisfaction over inadequate attention to working conditions. Rank and file movements, which are pressuring officials for more internal democracy, have gained strength in the Teamsters and Steelworkers unions, although they appear to be in disastrous disarray in the Mineworkers.

"What they [management] don't realize is that they have the right to talk with employees unilaterally—why give the organizer a shot?"

"Delay is crucial to your strategy" was a constant theme of our teacher. He suggested working closely with the company's attorney in setting up a series of stalls: "Delay in setting up the first conference. ... Dig up issues on appropriate unit, supervisors, confidential employees, part-time workers. ... Don't consent [to an election] until all issues are resolved ... then delay hearings. ... Delay briefs with excuses. ... and so on. All of this to dishearten the employees and give time for management to put on the pressure."

De Maria takes his students through the plans for a war—a war against the union. But for him, the election is only one of the battles. He told us that he has a client right now who recently lost an election. Unwilling to accept the union victory, he plans to "bargain to the point of boredom over the next year."

When one of the students asks about unfair labor practices charges, De Maria answers that there are ways "to cover our tracks ... if you know ahead of time what you are doing, you can avoid charges of surface bargaining."

And from there—where? Why to decertification, of course; and you can find out how to do that next month in his class in Atlanta.

Dick Wilson is director of the Labor Division, Midwest Academy. He formerly directed organizing campaigns in Illinois for the State, County & Municipal Employees and served as national education director for the union. He attended the seminar described above as a "business executive." This article originally appeared in the Oct. 8 AFL-CIO News and is reprinted with their permission.

Weakness and strength

Continued from page 3.

bill faces a good chance of approval in the Senate next year.

This explicit "coalition-building strategy"—advanced by union leaders like Machinists' president William Winpisinger and UAW head Douglas Fraser, among others—was put into practice after the situs picketing debacle when Meany instructed his aides to reach out beyond labor unions to gain support for their legislative goals. It took shape in the Coalition for a Fair Minimum Wage, the group that helped pass a compromise hike in the minimum wage, and in organizing for Full Employment Week.

Will the coalition be rebuilt?

There are also signs of positive working relations between labor unions and environmental groups, mainly around health and safety issues, as well as with women's organizations. The Coalition of Labor Union Women, formed in 1973 but debilitated by internal battles and lack of AFL-CIO support, is winning acceptance as a

center for encouraging women's participation in union affairs.

Some observers point out, however, that is unclear whether this strategy will extend beyond immediate legislative goals into a full-blown attempt to revitalize the "liberal-labor coalition" that fractured over the Vietnam war, the McGovern campaign, and the recession. Many divisive issues—like pollution controls, nuclear power and affirmative action—remain to be seriously addressed.

The importance attached to labor law reform also suggests labor's growing commitment to organizing the South and Southwest, where employment has increased dramatically. The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers union (ACTWU) has mounted organizing campaigns at all 85 plants of the J.P. Stevens Co., the nation's second largest textile firm. In combination with a well-financed consumer boycott against Stevens' products, the union hopes to organize Stevens' 44,000 employees and move on to other textile corporations.

Business opposition to labor law reform has created a "new chill in labor relations," *Business Week* recently reported, which threatens to undermine close cooperation on John Dunlop's Labor-Management Group. "The opposition to situs picketing was understood," explained the director of an industry promotion group. "But now it looks like builders are trying to deliver the kayo punch to put the unions out of business, and union people are starting to ask what the hell they should be cooperating about."

The immediate future of organized labor is thus very murky. Can the labor movement, as presently constituted, offer fundamental solutions to plant shutdowns, rank and file dissatisfaction, a management offensive and other serious problems?

The answer may lie with what political tendency swings the most weight in the years ahead—the Meany/building trades forces whose anti-communism and attitudes towards organizing are notorious, or the Winpisinger/Fraser forces whose actions could restore to labor the measure of social idealism essential to conduct massive organizing campaigns and ally with other working class constituencies.

How to Make Unions Unnecessary

on-Union

Advanced Management Research brochures that give instructions on how to "manage without interference."

HUMAN RIGHTS

Klan upsurge along the border

By Bill Ritter

SAN DIEGO—The court martial proceedings against 14 black Marines accused of attacking a group of white Marines mistakenly thought to be members of the Ku Klux Klan at Camp Pendleton are about to draw to an end, nearly one year after the initial incident took place.

Soon after the attack on Nov. 13, 1976, it was revealed that the Klan had been quite active at the giant Marine base, home for some 32,000 Marines—18 percent of whom are black. Additionally, it was disclosed that incidents of racial violence had been almost commonplace in recent months.

The Marine Corps issued a steady flow of denials, but stories of racial tension and of known and open Klan activity soon overpowered the Corps' stonewalling.

Of the 14 Marines who faced charges stemming from the incident (charges ranged from assault and conspiracy to attempted murder), four chose to be defended by military counsel. Of the four, one received total immunity in exchange for his testimony, two were convicted and received small sentences and one was acquitted for lack of evidence.

Of the remaining ten defendants, represented by civilian lawyers, two pleaded not guilty and were subsequently convicted, and seven have made pre-trial agreements, resulting in confinement (ranging from one to ten months), bad conduct discharges and fines. One other is scheduled for trial sometime in November.

To date, the defense team has yet to hammer out a collective appeals strategy for those sentenced to confinement.

In purely legal terms the results are seen by some as a modest-to-solid victory, given that many of the defendants faced up to 21 years in the brig. (Although other organizers feel that anything less than total freedom was failure.)

Political confusion.

In political terms, the outcome is less clear.

Controversy surrounding an ACLU lawsuit on behalf of the Klan alleging that the government violated First Amendment rights by transferring known Klan members away from Camp Pendleton took its political toll on the Pendleton defense by making it more difficult to raise defense funds and by precluding strong ACLU involvement in the defense effort.

For example, defense sources report that the Playboy Foundation, which has in the past donated money to civil liberties-type cases, was approached for funds for the case. The foundation rejected the proposal on the grounds that the constitutional and legal issues of the case "do appear to be somewhat confused."

Additionally, the debate within the ACLU over the KKK lawsuit, while a healthy internal question, had its negative impact on the case. In many cases people caught in the middle of the debate often did little for a defense they might otherwise have strongly supported.

The inability of coalitions comprised of radical and progressive organizers to avoid splits over questions of politics also played a key role in hampering the development of political and legal strategies.

The other side of that coin is that, despite the splits and factionalism, there was substantial political work around the case. This resulted, according to one organizer, "not only in an awareness of the legal battle, but a marked rise in consciousness around the issue of racism in the military and the Klan's role in the Marine Corps."

Renewed Klan activity.

While the debates continue and the defendants wait out the lengthy legal appeals process, the Klan continues to thrive. They have spread their campaign of racial hate at Camp Pendleton to San Diego and the Mexican border, 60 miles to the south.

Cross burnings and vandalism have plagued the homes of a handful of Chi-



Carol T. Morton

The Klan has spread its campaign of racial hate from Camp Pendleton to San Diego and the Mexican border, 60 miles south, where they claim to have initiated their own border patrol to catch illegal immigrants. Their presence has been met by renewed community opposition, like the San Diego march above.

cano activists, and the Klan has gone into the free-lance security industry, hiring themselves out to white families who complain to the Klan about their brown-skinned neighbors. The Klan's "surveillance" has so far yielded a number of terrorist acts, including at least one shooting.

Throughout the entire Pendleton 14 case, the Klan relished the media attention it had captured and quickly expanded its operations. It was a classic case of the media making an organization viable simply by covering it.

The Klan's biggest media coup was to announce plans for a Klan "Border Watch Patrol," involving Klansmen and some 1,000 miles of U.S./Mexican border land. Under the Klan plan, KKK members would ride unmarked cars along the border, and report to the Border Patrol any "movements of illegal aliens." National Klan leader David Duke claimed that the patrol units would be unarmed.

We've been had.

The proposal brought down a torrent of protests from Chicano, human rights and other progressive groups via marches, de-

monstrations, rallies and meetings with various officials.

Law enforcement agencies involved with border activities issued a rash of statements condemning the Klan's role at the border. But each agency was forced to concede that there is nothing as yet illegal in it and that law enforcement would be hard-pressed to prevent the rightists from carrying out their plans.

While the Klan claims they have reported groups of Mexicans crossing the border on numerous occasions, officials remain adamant that the KKK have had nothing to do with any apprehensions.

Reporters covering the story have yet to spot a Klan vehicle along the border, causing some to wonder if such a Klan patrol even exists. Offered one reporter, "We've been had. A complete hype."

The link between the KKK incidents of a year ago at Camp Pendleton and the current border hoopla is more than circumstantial.

Tom Metzger was the head of a small band of ineffective white power rightists in northern San Diego County when the Camp Pendleton racial violence publicly flared up last year. After capturing the

spotlight by defending Klan activities at the Marine base, Metzger eventually rose up the organization ladder and is today "KKK California State Director." (The title represents a shift in presentation for the Klan, choosing to cast aside their "Grand Dragon" for the more suit-and-tie images of coordinators and directors.)

Another Klan member thrust into the inner circle is former Marine Private Dennis Campbell, who was discharged from the Corps and Camp Pendleton for his KKK activities. Campbell is now San Diego Coordinator for the KKK and a key organizer of the "border watch."

The Klan's involvement in the "illegal alien" issue is not being taken lightly in San Diego. The KKK campaign plays upon the fears and anxieties of many people along the border.

And Mexicans crossing the border into the U.S., hoping to find employment and escape their own poverty, must now contend not only with an insensitive and fearful society who would take away their income, but with a terrorist group of racists who could easily take their lives.

Bill Ritter is a San Diego free lance writer

THE CAMPUS

Tufts tiffed by Marcos grant

By Peter Drier

MEDFORD, MASS.—Faculty and students at Tufts University here are protesting the university's acceptance of a \$1.5 million grant from the Ferdinand E. Marcos Foundation of the Philippines. The grant is to establish a chair in Asian Studies at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts, a training ground for many State and Defense department officials.

More than 100 faculty members signed a letter of protest to Tufts president Jean Mayer, a well-known nutritionist and former White House advisor, following a controversial visit by Imelda Marcos, wife of the Philippine president, to Tufts to present the award Thursday, Oct. 27.

The faculty expressed particular concern over a "Citation for Distinction" awarded Mrs. Marcos at the lunch. The citation praised "her determination, persistence, and ingenuity...in advancing the cause not only of her people but also the cause of the developing world in every corner of the globe."

"In partnership with her husband," the citation continued, "Mrs. Marcos has

been instrumental in establishing the Republic of the Philippines as a leader in the Third World and as an elegant spokesman in the New Economic Order."

The faculty letter, drafted by biology professor Saul Slapikoss, cited the condemnation of the Marcos regime's widespread use of torture by Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists.

Mrs. Marcos' visit to the campus was well orchestrated by State department officials and the local news media. Acting on the request of the university's public relations director, the *Boston Globe* withheld the story of the Marcos visit from its first (morning) edition.

Harry Zane, the PR director told the Tufts student newspaper that the State department had asked the university to "give as little advance notice as possible" since Mrs. Marcos had been spat on during a demonstration in New York in 1974.

Nevertheless, word of the visit leaked out and a hasty demonstration outside the Fletcher School brought together approximately 50 students, faculty and members of the anti-Marcos Friends of

the Filipino People. University police and State department security agents whisked the Marcos entourage away from the demonstrators before direct confrontation could develop.

At a faculty meeting on Nov. 7 President Mayer defended the university's acceptance of the grant. He claimed that the grant had "no strings attached." Several faculty members, however, noted that the \$1.5 million gift was to be allotted in three installments and wondered if this might not be a means of controlling its use.

The Marcos protest comes amidst a renewal of political activism on the Tufts campus after a five-year slumber. The same week more than 100 students and faculty participated in a Mobilization for Survival teach-in against the arms race and nuclear power, while another student group, the Tufts Political Action Group, began a campaign to get the university to withdraw its investments in corporations doing business with South Africa.

A faculty-student committee has been formed to continue the protest against the Marcos Foundation grant.

Peter Drier teaches sociology at Tufts.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Factionalism splits Chicano movement

By Mario Barrera

Two major issues are currently agitating the Chicano and Latino communities — undocumented immigration from Mexico and other Latin American countries and the Bakke case. The first of these issues was the focus of a major Chicano/Latino conference held in San Antonio Oct. 23-30 (ITT, Nov. 8).

The conference had two major objectives. One was explicit: to criticize the Carter plan on immigration, to organize against it and to come up with some alternative proposals.

The other was implicit but generally known: the revitalization and unification of the Chicano movement, which has been in a state of decline since 1972.

The first objective was partly achieved, but the second clearly was not.

The pulse of the Chicano movement

Chicano conferences are convenient events for taking the pulse of the Chicano movement at a particular point in time. The last major Chicano conference was the 1972 El Paso conference that was supposed to project La Raza Unida party onto the national political scene.

Instead, the conference was marked by a split between followers of Texas' Jose Angel Gutierrez, the founder of the party, and Colorado's "Corky" Gonzalez. Attempts to paper over the split failed, and La Raza Unida was never able to unify across state lines. Shortly afterwards, the party withered in California and other areas, and its base has been steadily shrinking in its stronghold, Texas.

This year, as in 1972, factional politics was in the air long before September. In a series of regional and planning conferences prior to the main event, the issue of participation by the Socialist Workers party surfaced repeatedly.

The strongest objections were raised by a group of activists from southern California, and an editorial in a San Diego Chicano newspaper called for a boycott of the conference unless the SWP was expelled. Also highly vocal in their opposition to the SWP were representatives of CASA-General Brotherhood of Workers, a Mexican-based Marxist group that has been organizing for several years around the issues of undocumented workers.

But the SWP remained in the conference coalition. With La Raza Unida party disorganized and internally divided, Jose Angel Gutierrez, who had issued the call for the conference, had come to rely on SWP activists and resources to organize the conference.

The SWP, which ironically enough had been banned from the 1972 El Paso conference, was eager to associate itself with the widely-known Gutierrez and to gain further entrance into the Chicano movement.

The conference itself began on an optimistic note. The attendance was estimated at 2,600, large for such a conference. The presence of delegates from Mexico gave the meeting an international dimension that had been absent in other years. The list of speakers on Friday night and Saturday morning spanned the spectrum from the LULACs (League of United Latin American Citizens) to the GI Forum to the Texas Farmworkers to La Raza Unida to MALDEF (Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund) to the SWP to CASA, with various public officials, priests, and others thrown in for good measure.

An impressive show of unity and a broad-based coalition seemed to be in the making. Jorge Bustamante of the Colegio de Mexico presented some alternatives based on employment and development

Chicano conferences are convenient points for evaluating the state of the movement and the San Antonio Conference on Immigration revealed a movement that had moved to the left, but one that was also divided and lacking leadership. Nationalism is the biggest point of unity and appeal. Many problems remain to be solved.

efforts in Mexico, and Vilma Martinez of MALDEF and the University of California Board of Regents made some legalistic critiques of the Carter plan.

The appearance of unity was soon broken, however. The extent of SWP predominance became readily apparent in the Saturday afternoon workshops, as their organizational efforts began to bear fruit. The conference almost dissolved in bitter acrimony in the Sunday plenary session, which was marked by a CASA walkout (later rescinded) and denunciations of the SWP by numerous delegations. A spokesperson from the remnants of "Corky" Gonzalez' Colorado organization bitterly condemned all parties to the dispute. It was only with great effort that the conference was able to finally pass its long list of resolutions.

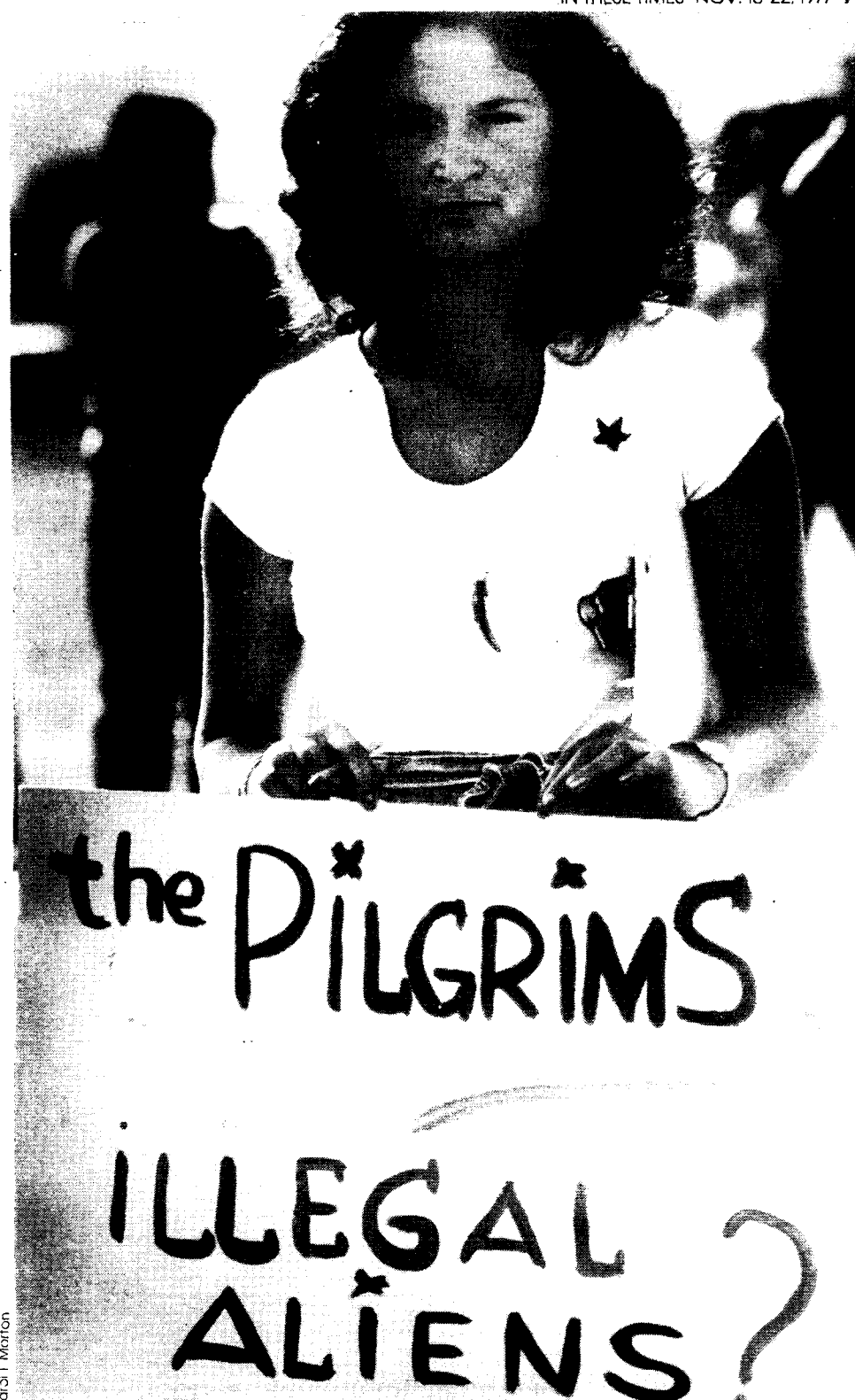
A leadership gap.

Much of the conference's aftermath has focused on the role of the SWP. Many delegates left the conference embittered at what they saw as manipulations and attempts to infiltrate and control the Chicano/Latino movement by the SWP. It seemed clear that many delegates would not carry through on a Nov. 18-20 national mobilization, which was proposed and pushed through by the SWP. In a highly emotional post-conference meeting of the northern California delegation in Oakland Nov. 3, the SWP was ejected from the local organization formed around the immigration issue.

That local and regional organizations will continue their work on undocumented immigration is evident, but the extent to which that work could be pulled together into a national effort is still questionable.

The conference reflected much about the Chicano movement. One of the points underlined was the evident decline of La Raza Unida party as a political force in the Chicano movement. The Partido appeared weak and divided, and did not function as a bloc at the conference in the same sense that SWP and CASA did.

The SWP has gained in influence in the Chicano movement since 1972, but its temporary advantage may turn into a Pyrrhic victory as the backlash to its role sets in.



Carol T. Morton

CASA was the only new and important force in the Chicano political arena, but both the size and composition of its delegation seemed to indicate that it still lacks a broad base in the Chicano and Latino communities.

Still, the fact that the only sizeable blocs at the convention were both Marxist groups indicates a significant ideological shift in Chicano politics since the early 1970s. While it's true that most Chicano activists do not identify themselves as radicals, the movement is certainly much more tolerant of radical activity than it was a few short years ago.

Another aspect of the movement that was rather striking at this conference was the decline of the recognized Chicano "leaders," and the fact that virtually no one has come forth to take their place. Jose Angel Gutierrez, now judge of Zavala County and planning to run for Congress, does not even control Crystal City, his original political base, and he has been disowned by many former followers.

Reies Tijerina of the New Mexico land-grant movement has completely faded from the scene, and both he and "Corky" Gonzalez, prominent spokesmen at the El Paso conference, were not even present this time around. Bert Corona, another long-time activist and former spokesman for CASA, was also nowhere in evidence.

Peter Camejo of the SWP and Antonio Rodriguez of CASA, who both played a leading role in San Antonio, do not command the same type of broad following that these other leaders did in the past.

Nationalism and the racist upsurge

A number of broader issues were raised by the events at San Antonio that go beyond the question of specific leaders and organizations. Clearly Chicano political activism is still marked by approaches and ideologies that range from several varieties of liberal to several varieties of radical. Still, nationalist appeals evoked the most enthusiastic response at the conference.

When Edward Morga of the LULACs stressed the artificiality of the U.S./Mexico border, when Peter Camejo spoke of the Southwest as a Mexican homeland, and when Antonio Rodriguez of CASA asserted a Mexican territorial claim to

the Southwest, they were greeted with the loudest applause of the day.

Chicano nationalism continues as the broadest common denominator, and its relationship to other ideological appeals remains very vague.

The attention being given the immigration issue also raises the question of whether we are simply going through another phase of the importation-deportation cycle, as most of us have assumed, or whether this time there is a fundamental shift in American policy.

A few years ago the historian Arthur Corwin, in a memo to Henry Kissinger, warned of the political consequences of continued large-scale immigration from Mexico, and raised the specter of a possible "Chicano Quebec" in the Southwest. If indeed it is true that American policy-makers are concerned about the growing concentration of Chicanos and Mexicanos in the Southwest, then Carter's proposals should be seen as an attempt to strike a balance between the continued desire of southwestern capitalists for cheap, exploitable labor, and the fear of future political consequences.

At the broadest level, of course, the campaign against undocumented immigrants is part of a much more general wave of racism and backlash that is sweeping the country, and which is manifested in the anti-busing movement, the Bakke decision, the resurgence of the KKK and in many other ways.

The strength of this trend is sufficiently great to have thrown the Chicano movement on the defensive, and the current attempts to mobilize around Bakke and immigration are essentially reactive in nature. In this sense, the key issues in the Chicano/Latino community are still being determined from the outside, rather than on the basis of a coherent and well thought out strategy for change.

Until such a strategy is created, along with the organizational base to carry it out, the Chicano and Latino movements will continue to be marked by the fragmented and stop-and-go characteristics that are so evident today.

Mario Barrera is a professor in the Ethnic Studies department of the University of California at Berkeley.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Agents enter Abalone Alliance

By Tom Thompson
SAN LUIS OBISPO, CALIF.—The use of undercover deputies to infiltrate and report on activities of a group of 47 members of the Abalone Alliance who were arrested Aug. 7 during an anti-nuclear protest at the Diablo Canyon nuclear plant near here (*ITT*, Aug. 17) is causing heated legal and community discussion in this quiet coastal area.

The officers, Charles Douglas Smith, a deputy sheriff with the Santa Barbara Sheriff's Special Investigations Unit, and Richard James Lee, 44, a reserve deputy with the San Luis Obispo Sheriff's Department, were among the 47 persons arrested, and had actively participated in the planning and execution of the demonstration.

Smith, using the assumed name of Charles Douglas, joined Santa Barbara County People Against Nuclear Power and, according to members, immediately began agitating the group to align itself with the West Coast Abalone Alliance. The Abalone Alliance is a coalition of anti-nuclear groups in California dedicated to non-violent resistance to nuclear proliferation and is modeled after the East Coast Clamshell Alliance, which has sponsored occupations of the Seabrook nuclear power plant in New Hampshire.

Generally described as an aloof and quiet individual, except where civil disobedience was planned, Smith was arrested with the occupiers, but released almost immediately under the pretext that his wife had been involved in an automobile accident.

Richard Lee, using the name Jim Lee, infiltrated People Generating Energy, the local co-sponsor of the occupation. He told people that he had been involved in community work in black sections of Detroit during the '60s, was involved in Indian causes and had "tremendous sympathy for blacks and Indians."

Like Smith, Lee was adamant about being an occupier, stating "this is the only way we can stop them."

On Aug. 7 Lee arrived at the demonstration with a pair of wire cutters, stating that it would be easier to gain access to the plant by cutting through two fences rather than climbing over them in order to occupy the plant site. Had this tactic been adopted, the occupiers would have faced an additional charge of destruction of property in addition to the two counts of criminal trespass and one count of failure to disperse with which they were eventually charged.

Unlike Smith, Lee continued his charade past the arraignment process and volunteered to become an integral part of the defense planning and strategy. Lee succeeded and, according to Raye Fleming, one of the occupiers, "was very active in our defense."

Lee also attempted to convince the occupiers that they should pay their fines, go to jail and immediately plan the next occupation, so "we won't get bogged down in a tiring legal defense and divert our energy."

Smith and Lee's true purpose in joining the anti-nuclear movement was first exposed by reporter Pete Dunan of the *San Luis Obispo Telegram-Tribune*. Dunan, responding to a request from the occupiers, began questioning the sheriff about Smith, a.k.a. Charles Douglas, who had become suspect after he virtually dropped out of sight following the arrests. Dunan later reported that Smith was indeed an informant and, to the shock and dismay of the occupiers, so was Lee.

In explaining the use of informants in a peaceful, non-violent movement, Sheriff George S. Whiting told Dunan, "We considered it good police work that, in my opinion, saved the taxpayers a lot of money."

The extreme care with which the occupiers planned the demonstration appears to contradict Whiting's defense. Each occupier was required to undergo extensive non-violent training prior to the action.



Richard James Lee (far right on back row), a reserve deputy with the San Luis Obispo Sheriff's department, and Charles Douglas Smith (next to Lee), a deputy sheriff with the Santa Barbara Sheriff's department, both encouraged and participated in the Aug 7 occupation of the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant.

Constant communication between the demonstrators, the sheriff's department and Pacific Gas and Electric (PG&E), owners of the Diablo facility, was maintained throughout, including the exact route, the non-violent commitment, the numbers of protesters, and methods for easing tension between occupiers and sheriff's deputies during the arrest procedure. The occupation and arrests went exactly as planned, peacefully.

After confirming the identities of the sheriff's informants during discovery proceedings, defense attorney Richard Frishman moved to have charges dismissed on the basis of prejudicial law enforcement and violation of the attorney-client privilege. Although the court stated the motion had "some merit," especially the violation of privilege, the motions were denied.

Frishman will now have to appeal that decision to San Luis Obispo Superior Court, and has stated that if denied there he will go to the state Appeals Court and Supreme Court if necessary.

Frishman sees the activity of the sheriff and the severe fines and jail sentences imposed on the first 14 occupiers who have already been tried as repressive and politically motivated. "They have harassed my clients because of their political beliefs. If this were a normal case, things like this [the use of informants, and excessive penalties, which have included a \$500 mandatory fine, five days in jail and 12-18 months probation] wouldn't have happened. But my clients aren't involved in a normal case. They are fighting nuclear power and PG&E."

The use of undercover informants and

the imposition of severe penalties may be backfiring on the government and PG&E, who had hoped for public support of their actions.

Letters to the editor of the *Telegram-Tribune* have become increasingly supportive of the occupiers and hostile towards the sheriff, the court, the district attorney and PG&E.

One letter, referring to the refusal of the court to suspend the fine of an occupier now faced with overwhelming medical bills, reads in part: "Because I was not at the plant, I am hereby sending my 'fine' to the Diablo 46 Defense Fund, P.O. Box 1598 [San Luis Obispo, CA 93406]. It is marked especially for the woman with cancer, who has no money, no health insurance, but courage."

Tom Thompson is a Los Angeles reporter.

MILITARY

Carter guts discharge review program

By Patrick Lacefield

Jimmy Carter took office last January and immediately set about keeping a promise he made during his campaign. On Jan. 23 he used his first Executive Order to grant a full, complete, unconditional amnesty for all Vietnam war draft resisters. He also announced a special discharge upgrading program to examine, on a case-by-case basis, the situations of Vietnam-era veterans with less-than-honorable discharges, as well as those of deserters.

Two weeks ago President Carter gutted a key phase of that amnesty program when he signed, rather than vetoed legislation that abrogated the limited amnesty he had spelled out for deserters and bad discharge veterans.

The program had always been subject to criticism. Amnesty advocates pointed out from the beginning that it continued the class and racial bias of the war itself by handing draft resisters (most well-educated, white and middle class) a blanket pardon while setting up the Special Discharge Review Program (SDRP) for deserters and veterans with less-than-honorable discharges (overwhelmingly drawn from working class and minority sectors of the population).

In addition, only 432,000 men were deemed eligible for the program by the Pentagon (800,000 should have been covered say amnesty advocates), excluding veterans discharged by court-martial convictions rather than by administrative discharge.

The program has been less than effective. Only 9 percent of the 432,000 men eligible applied to the SDRP, and of that number only 58 percent had their discharges upgraded, with only 17 percent of these receiving honorable discharges—meaning that slightly more than 1.5 percent of the 432,000 were upgraded to honorable status.

The stigma of bad discharges cannot be overestimated in these times of high unemployment. Recent surveys have shown that 40 percent of employers discriminate against veterans with general discharges, while 60-70 percent shun vets with undesirable or dishonorable discharges.

Despite its shortcomings, however, the Carter program offered relief to veterans who made it through the program.

From the beginning the program was threatened by a series of bills introduced in Congress that sought to limit or deny altogether veterans' benefits to those with SDRP-upgraded discharges. (Many veteran counseling groups, wary of the possible effects of this legislation, urged veterans all along to bypass the SDRP and to take their chances with the military's regular discharge upgrading channels.)

The Carter administration sought to maintain a low profile, unwilling to needlessly alienate conservatives over what it perceived as a low-priority issue, as punitive amnesty bills rushed through the Congress, encountering only slight opposition. Administration lobbyists, however, assured amnesty advocates that they would

head off any vindictive congressional proposals.

Carter nonetheless, opted to sign rather than veto a measure that reached his desk under the sponsorship of former anti-war liberal Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Cal.), thus avoiding arousing the ire of conservatives in Congress whose support he covets on major issues such as energy and the Panama Canal treaties.

The Cranston bill provides that every veteran who was upgraded in the Carter program will have his case "reopened" before a Discharge Review Board that would be governed by pre-amnesty standards and composed entirely of representatives from the various branches of the armed services. There appears little doubt that this bill, as intended, will place harsher restrictions on discharge upgrading and will most likely deny any relief to Vietnam-era deserters.

Much of the compassion that Carter spoke of when he unveiled his amnesty plan in January appears to have been stripped away. White House aides say that Carter signed the bill for fear that Congress might have passed a much harsher measure had he vetoed it. But in the eyes of amnesty advocates that does not alter the fact that Carter—on an issue concerning human rights and one closely identified with him personally—chose to vacillate rather than fight.

Patrick Lacefield, a long-time amnesty activist, works with *WIN* magazine in New York City.

LABOR

Toil & trouble not gold & silver

By Keith Rohman
Liberation News Service

KODIAK, ALASKA—For years, people have come to Alaska looking for fortunes in gold, silver or oil. Every summer this island off the Alaskan coast also fills with migrants looking for fortunes in fish. By the thousands they come to the tundra of Kodiak for the "good money" they heard about down south.

They're looking for the boat job with a three-month crew share of \$10,000. They're hustling for the \$200-a-day job on a tender delivering fish to canneries. Bar maids are hoping to make good money in the evenings. Bush pilots are flying for a mint spotting schools of fish.

Most of the migrants end up in the canneries. Kodiak, located on Kodiak Island

Thousands come to Alaska every summer for quick money.

about 50 miles off south central Alaska, is one of the three largest fishing ports (in value of fish landed) in the U.S. Down-town alone there are 16 processing plants within a space of two miles. Upwards of 2,000 people are employed there, and with the high turnover rate, jobs are usually available.

For unskilled (and non-union) labor, the wages seem high. This summer the average wage was around \$4.20 an hour, \$6.40 an hour for overtime.

It is the overtime hours that the cannery worker counts on to make money. When the fish are in, they have to be processed before spoilage starts. During the height of the season 16-hour days are common. B&B fisheries, for example, runs two 12-hour shifts, seven days a week.

Still, wages barely keep up with the cost of living in this area. Almost everything has to be shipped up from the "lower 48" so prices are high. A University of Alaska survey found that food prices in Kodiak were 34 percent higher than in Seattle.

Housing is scarce. If you can find one, a single bedroom apartment will cost you \$350 a month or more. A drink in Kodiak will cost \$2.50.

The cannery worker is at the bottom of the Kodiak totem pole. A few get apartments in town. Some live in crowded cannery housing, dangerously subject to fires. Others live camped in the hills around Kodiak or in the old WWII bunkers that dot the island.

Hard and dangerous work.

There is a cannery on an old barge, another on an old ferry. Most, though, are thrown-together buildings made largely of fiberglass siding. Few are heated. The sound of machinery pounds your ears when you enter them.

Inside, the work is difficult and unpleasant. In processing fresh frozen fish almost the entire process is done by hand under continually running cold water. You quickly become used to standing ankle-deep in fish guts. The unloading crews have to climb down into the hold of the boat and stand waist-deep in fish. At the end of the season in the canneries work clothes are thrown out; nothing will get the smell out.

The work is also dangerous. "Unguarded machinery is one of your serious hazards," said Robert Hatcher of the Alaska Department of Labor, Occupational Safety and Health Division. "There are fish head grinders or crab rollers that can catch your hands. Some people have lost their fingers completely, some have just had their hands mangled. I'd say I hear of 15 to 20 cases a season of people getting their hands caught in machinery. And there is a lot I don't hear about."

In June a cannery worker at B&B Fish-

eries was killed while unloading a boat. He slipped off the dock and was crushed between a boat and the dock. Cannery workers have become asthmatic from working in the steam-filled shrimp canneries. Almost weekly in Kodiak someone passes out on the job, a victim of fork-lift exhaust in poorly ventilated work areas.

Blood poisoning is a problem common to all kinds of sea-food processing. Fish carry organisms that humans are not immune to. If they get into the skin through a small scratch or even directly through the pores after a day in fishy water, they can swell up the arm with serious consequences if not treated.

"Canneries can be made a safe place to work," said Hatcher, "but the owners are reluctant to spend the money to upgrade. They want to reap the quick dollar rather than put the money back in to help the individual."

Kodiak is not far from the prejudices that you find in the rest of the U.S. Women are almost always relegated to the lowest paying and least desirable jobs. In the canneries they work the "meat line," standing in one spot performing one act all day; slitting the belly, cleaning the slime, or pulling the guts. "They're faster with their hands," said one foreman.

It's rare to find a woman on a fishing boat, although younger fishermen may hire them on as cooks; old-timers still consider it bad luck to have a woman aboard.

Big money for canneries.

Alaska does not encourage the migrants. The state's Department of Labor, dealing with statewide unemployment of 14 percent, warns that employers make false promises. "Unless you have a job in writing before you leave, do not come up," advises one government publication. "It is in the employers' interest to have a large labor pool to draw from."

But in spite of this, the unsafe work and the high cost of living, people still come to Kodiak. Driven north by the high unemployment and the lure of quick (if not easy) money, they flood this town of 5,000. By most estimates approximately 3,000 people pass through during the summer months, including a large number of undocumented, foreign-born workers unable to get jobs elsewhere. Canneries are known to ask few questions.

Japanese capital dominates the seafood-processing industry in Kodiak, according to figures from a 1975 survey done by the American embassy in Tokyo. Kodiak King Crab Inc. is 49.9 percent owned by Marubeni Ida (also sole owner of Alaska Pacific Seafoods). One of the largest plants, B&B Fisheries is 90 percent owned by Taiyo Gyogyo.

There are fortunes to be made in fish, but not on the "meat lines" of the canneries or even the fishing boats. Between the ocean and the dinner table the cannery takes the biggest bite. The fisherman gets 93 cents a pound for his fish. Processed and frozen, the cannery will sell it for around \$2.75 a pound.

The real money is not in the meat, but in the eggs. In Japan, salmon eggs are a prized and expensive delicacy, much like caviar. Properly boxed and salted the Chum salmon eggs bring the canneries \$13.50 a pound (1975 prices). And each female salmon carries almost a pound of eggs.

In a day's work a fishing boat may pull in 5,000 pounds of red salmon. For that, the cannery pays about \$4,700, and will sell it processed for at least \$50,000.

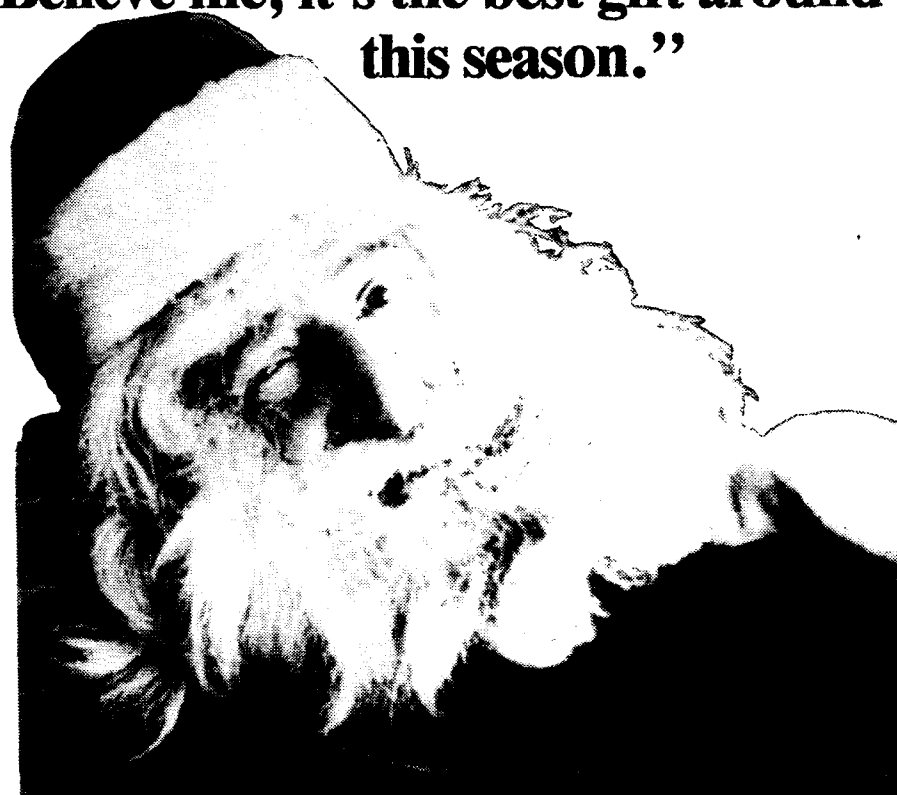
For many migrants, however, the cold wet summer in Kodiak brings little more than a job in the states. Like the prospectors and pipeline workers before them, the migrant workers find no great fortunes at the end of the Alaskan rainbow.

Keith Rohman worked in a Kodiak cannery.



Work in the canneries is hard and dangerous. The only quick and easy money to be had is by the cannery owners.

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IN THE WORLD

SOUTH AFRICA



Honoring their leader. Mourners surrounding the open coffin of black leader Steve Biko in his home in the black township of Ginsberg.

Wide World

Carter's little policy pills

By Steve Talbot

In the rush of publicity about the new mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, it should not be lost sight of that American policy towards Africa has changed little during the first year of the Carter administration. There have been some notable shifts in the style and content of American policy: Andrew Young now treads where Henry Kissinger used to shuttle. There is more overt Washington pressure on Pretoria to move away from its apartheid system. And there is an increasing willingness to cooperate with important black African nations like Nigeria which had been alienated by the Ford-Kissinger intervention in Angola and Kissinger's reluctance to challenge South Africa directly.

The rhetoric has changed, too: the Carter administration's talk of human rights and racial justice is a far cry from Kissinger's *realpolitik* language and weak support for black majority rule.

But despite these differences, Carter has maintained a basic continuity with the Africa policies of the previous administration. Carter has refused to recognize the Peoples Republic of Angola—the leftist MPLA government Ford and Kissinger sought to block and then overthrow. Congress, meanwhile, has banned U.S. aid to Angola and to Mozambique and Carter has promised that the U.S. representatives to the World Bank and International Monetary Fund will be instructed to vote against international aid programs to those African countries.

When a long-time U.S. client in Africa, Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko, was threatened by the rebellion in copper-rich Shaba province last spring, the Carter administration also did what previous administrations had done: backed Mobutu diplomatically and financially. Further U.S. involvement was made unnecessary by the intervention of 1,500 Moroccan troops brought in by French airlift. The *Washington Post* noted at the time that "There is widespread belief, or suspicion, that the United States

Despite differences, Carter has kept a basic continuity with Africa policies of the previous administrations.

masterminded the strategy used in Zaire."

The "Kenya model."

In Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Carter pursued the basic policy outlined by Kissinger in his last six months of frantic shuttle diplomacy: phasing out white minority rule and arranging a carefully controlled transition to a "moderate" that is, pro-western and foreign investment-oriented, black government. In Zimbabwe, Kissinger had backed the British-sponsored Geneva conference, called for a cease-fire to halt the growth of the radical guerrilla forces, and unveiled a special development fund to pay off white settlers who might balk at the prospect of living under a black government.

Kissinger often referred to the "Kenya model" as what he envisioned for Zimbabwe, and he made contact with nationalist leader Joshua Nkomo as a potential African head of state Washington could live with. Carter has not tampered with that basic scheme, but he has deepened U.S. involvement.

Now the Western settlement proposal for Zimbabwe is a full-fledged Anglo-American plan—complete with a proposed \$2 billion Zimbabwe Development Fund (now aimed primarily at keeping the future economy of Zimbabwe Western-oriented) and with a plan to send in United Nations peace-keeping forces during the transition period. The Patriotic Front—the alliance of the two guerrilla movements in Zimbabwe—has strongly protested UN intervention, saying it would be a repetition of the Congo in the early 1960s. If Carter persists in pushing the plan over their objections the danger of another Vietnam is greatly increased.

In Namibia, the Carter administration has also not deviated from Kissinger's policy. U.S. strategy—which is being coordinated with Britain, West Germany and other Western powers—is to convince the South Africans to withdraw their estimated 40,000 to 50,000 troops from Namibia and allow the formation of a "moderate" black regime. The Carter administration, however, like the previous administration, does not want SWAPO—the guerrilla movement in Namibia—to come to power. So far, SWAPO has refused to accept a Western settlement or to negotiate with South Africa until the apartheid regime withdraws its occupation forces, releases political prisoners and agrees to UN-supervised elections. SWAPO also rejects South Africa's claim that Walvis Bay—Namibia's principle port—must remain part of South Africa.

Big U.S. stake.

In South Africa, the Carter administration has departed from Kissinger's hand-off policy—but not that far. The mandatory arms embargo has come too late to make any significant dent in South Africa's formidable military capacity built up over the last 20 years with Western assistance. An economic embargo, on the other hand, would have a "chilling effect" on the South African economy—even if it were only 50 percent effective, according to the head of the economics department at South Africa's leading Witwatersrand University.

But Carter, like previous U.S. presidents, is unlikely to impose strong economic sanctions against South Africa because of the major American economic

stake in the apartheid regime. More than 400 U.S. corporations have invested 1.5 billion dollars in South Africa, while the current value of U.S. bank loans to Pretoria is estimated at three billion dollars. The U.S.-South African trade reached two billion dollars last year.

From Chevrolets to copper to IBM, U.S. corporations are in South Africa in a big way—taking advantage of cheap non-unionized black labor (whites in the mines earn an average \$1,027 per month; blacks \$124) and recording a 19.1 percent average rate of return on investments compared with a world average for U.S. corporations of 11 percent.

U.S. support for a mandatory arms embargo has brought heated denunciations and cries of betrayal from the South African government. But the white minority regime is relatively confident it will not face stronger action in the form of an economic embargo.

Campaigning for the Nov. 30 whites-only election, Prime Minister John Vorster reminded an applauding white audience that he was Police Minister in the early 1960s during the crackdown that banned the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, after the Sharpeville massacre. That political crackdown was followed by a \$40 million loan by a consortium of U.S. banks which helped stabilize the South African government. The repression stifled black protest until the 1973 Durban strike wave and the 1976 Soweto uprising.

Vorster is banking now that U.S. and other Western loans and investments will continue, despite his massive political crackdown last month; and that black protest can be silenced for another decade. Vorster assumes that the Carter administration—while making life more difficult for the South African government—is not fundamentally different from previous U.S. administrations and will not directly challenge a regime to which it is so deeply tied.

Steve Talbot is an editor of *Internews*.

ITALY

U.S., Germany waylay Italian socialism

By Diana Johnstone

ROME—Italy seems the country in the world today most willing politically and able culturally to create an original democratic socialism—if powerful international factors were not blocking that course.

But the shared political culture and ideals that could inspire such creativity are threatened by disintegration. The left, which only 16 months ago celebrated the Italian Communist party's big gains in the June 1976 parliamentary elections, has been seriously disoriented by the economic and political stagnation that have followed.

Outspoken PCI leader Giorgio Amendola complained a few days ago of the passivity of party members who seemed not to understand the "historic compromise" policy and were balking at supporting it actively. He called for a more spirited internal debate.

Membership in the Communist youth organization has fallen off sharply, while disdain for the PCI provides the main element of consensus in the new youth movement. There has been an alarming increase in the number of youths advocating "armed struggle" without any remotely plausible strategy or aims.

Labor and the unemployed.

Italy counts some 1.7 million unemployed. Young people with no job prospects feel excluded by the work ethic of the labor movement and its apparent security. But the security is only apparent: industrialists have been restructuring production wherever possible, as in the textile and garment industries, outside the factories and their militant unions, reviving insecure, low-paid cottage labor. Over four million Italians are working in irregular jobs, called the labor black market.

Italy's—and perhaps the world's—most imaginative labor leader, Bruno Trentin, has warned that unless organized labor overcomes the corporatist temptation and invents ways to involve the unemployed and "black market" workers in new efforts to solve the problems of the entire working class, Italy could be heading for a "war between the poor."

Trentin resigned last spring as head of the Metalworkers Federation to join the secretariat of the General Confederation of Italian Workers, the federation closest to the PCI. He has been pushing to extend the democracy of the Factory Councils outside the factories to Zone Councils that would bring together employed and jobless to discuss problems of mutual concern, notably public investment policy. At his initiative, a national assembly was held in Rome Oct. 20 between representatives of the big trade union confederations and the Leagues and Cooperatives of unemployed youth that have mushroomed recently.

If Italian democracy proves unable to move towards socialism, there is the danger that democracy itself will be dismissed as a sham by a large part of the younger generation. Trentin sees the need to keep democracy alive on the grassroots level, especially since party leaderships and governments are held in check by complex outside forces.

An unfriendly world.

The PCI's caution reflects an international environment scarcely encouraging to the Italian left.

Henry Kissinger was just in Rome, ostensibly to compile a journalistic report on "Eurocommunism" by talking only to its worst enemies, and just incidentally reminding Italians of the continuity of American policy. On Eurocommunism, the Carter administration has chosen to speak softly and let the International Monetary Fund wield the big stick. In other words, carrying out policies outlined by the Trilateral Commission, the



Bruno Trentin (right), Italian labor leader

Attualita Fotografica

Italy's Communists are going slow in the face of international hostility. But in the meantime, a war between the poor is breaking out and threatening the left.

Carter administration is using the effect of oil price increases and other current economic weaknesses to promote an institutionalized "interdependence" that will enforce political and economic conformity, without the U.S. having to make itself unloved by openly playing the role of world cop.

West German threat.

The U.S. counts on West Germany to play the leading role in keeping Italy in line. The recent exacerbation of the siege mentality in West Germany and its growing vocation as "anti-terrorist" policeman of Europe cast a new and heavy shadow over the future of democracy in Italy, and indeed the whole continent.

Much remains murky in the Schleyer kidnapping and the Stammheim prison deaths, but this much is clear: a West Germany that feels threatened is capable of employing quite extraordinary means to defend itself, and feeling threatened is something West Germany manages to do rather easily. For quite some time, the powerful right led by Franz Josef Strauss—which incidentally just bought Italy's biggest newspaper, the *Corriere*

della Sera—has been raising the fearful specter of a West Germany surrounded by a "red" sea, should the PCI enter the Italian cabinet. Considering the means at their disposal, it's hard to imagine West Germans sitting idly by if the Italians "threaten their security" by making political choices they don't like.

Some diplomatic observers in Rome interpret repeated Western predictions of Soviet moves to take over post-Tito Yugoslavia as cover for some sort of funny business in the works, aimed at "destabilizing" Yugoslavia in order to keep it from functioning as a potential hinterland for Italian Eurocommunism and a center of non-alignment in the Mediterranean. A civil conflict in Yugoslavia could serve to bring heavy Western political pressure to bear on Italy as a "strategic frontier" country.

And the recent split between the French Socialists and Communists not only greatly reduces the chances of a leftwing government in Paris next year, but could encourage the Italian Socialist party to go back to the idea of taking part in a center-left coalition with the Christian Democrats, leaving the PCI out in the cold.

The danger of corporatism.

With the death of the China myth, there are no inspirational models of socialism. A recent poll showed that only 38 percent of Italian Communists thought the USSR had achieved socialism, and 84 percent were against adopting the Soviet system in Italy.

Third World revolutions provided youth with models, not of society, but of struggle. The glorification of constant struggle, regardless of aims or strategy, has shown up in the past year as a weakness of the post-1968 far left, unable to formulate any overall long-range goals to mobilize young people completely turned off by the PCI's obscure attempts to work out deals with the Christian Democrats.

Much of the new movement tends to combine the most immediate, short-range demands with a style of action implying total rejection of the system—an example being the "self-reduction" of cinema prices.

Bruno Trentin has pointed out that the diverse nature of the essentially Mussolini-style corporatist demands put forth by the new Movement, as well as of its tendency to reject democratic mediation, are not overcome by any unifying ideal or objective, since "there is a total absence of any political program, however abstract or utopian."

The danger of corporatism is all the greater, according to Trentin, in that "there exists in some parts of the organized working class a tendency towards passivity, and a slow and silent withdrawal back to corporatist self-defense."

Trentin sees the need to combat these trends by creating new democratic bodies where the working class can openly debate the problems that threaten to divide it into contending interest groups.

Conflictual democracy.

In Italy, stresses Trentin, democracy cannot be kept alive by "the search for consensus around a given political line," but by finding appropriate new space and forms to keep conflict clear, open and socially fruitful. In recent years, Italy has developed as a "model of conflictual democracy," in Trentin's term. This contrasts with West Germany as the model of an "integrated" society attempting to suppress conflict.

In the Oct. 7 issue of *Rinascita*, Trentin acknowledged that any long-range project for changing society is "potentially authoritarian" because it asks people to sacrifice their immediate private interests for a future common good. Therefore, the question of what "antibodies" the working class must produce to protect it from authoritarianism in its progress towards the long-range goal of socialism is "basic" and must be faced squarely, Trentin said.

His answer is that as profit ceases to function as the safeguard of freedom, it must be increasingly replaced by grassroots democracy, "not as the necessary complement of a so-called economic democracy or socialist democracy, but as its essential feature."

The preservation of democracy's conflictual aspects "is not only the antibody against authoritarianism, but the driving force and very soul of a society in transition. If we don't grasp this connection, we run the risk not only of an objectively authoritarian society, but also of a society in economic, political and cultural stagnation, however torn by convulsive revolts."

In Italy, if socialism can be achieved only as an extension of democracy, the survival of democracy may well depend on whether it can—or is allowed to—move toward socialism.

GREECE

Left alliance opposes Karamanlis

By Amis Sougiotis

Elections for a new Greek parliament are to take place Nov. 20. The Konstantinos Karamanlis government has called the elections one year ahead of schedule, hoping to take advantage of divisions in the opposition in order to obtain a new mandate for ever more repressive and reactionary policies.

When the colonels' junta collapsed in 1974 and handed power over to him, Karamanlis was able to assemble a broadly-based interim government which, although it excluded the left, took some important steps forward: it withdrew Greece from the military apparatus of NATO, it suspended or expelled the most notorious junta supporters from the university faculties; it legalized the Communist parties. Four months later, when elections were held, the widespread fear of a new coup expressed in the slogan "Karamanlis or the tanks" helped give Karamanlis' New Democracy party 54 percent of the vote and overwhelming support in Parliament (220 of 300 deputies).

Karamanlis formed a one-party right-wing government. The liberal Union of the Democratic Center (69 deputies) moved into the opposition, joining the Panhellenic Socialist Movement of Andreas Papandreou (13 deputies), the Moscow-endorsed Communist party of Greece (five deputies), the Eurocommunist Communist party of Greece-Interior (two deputies) and the United Democratic Left (EDA) (one deputy).

Since 1974 Karamanlis has steered Greece sharply to the right. At home, his policies have included the protection and promotion of pro-junta and extreme right-wing elements in the civil service, the judiciary, the police and the military; the blocking of popular initiatives toward concerted social action through trade unions, student organizations, and organs of the population. He has based his foreign policy on the slogan "Greece belongs to the West," moving toward the reintegration of Greece with NATO and a solution of the crisis in Cyprus in the context of overall American plans for the Eastern Mediterranean.

Although the opposition remains fragmented, the Progressive and Left Alliance, an alliance of five parties and movements which share a commitment to socialism and democratic freedoms, has recently been formed. It remains open to the other



Premier Karamanlis (above) expects re-election next Sunday. But the newly formed left alliance may be a future winner.

forces of the opposition, although the Union of the Democratic Center, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement and the Communist Party of Greece are running separately in these elections.

The Alliance is not expected to poll more than a quarter of the opposition votes this election. However, it has major importance for Greece as a focus for the construction of a pluralistic and non-dogmatic left alternative. For the same reason, its formation has continental significance as a part of the process of reno-

vation and strengthening of the left in Europe.

Broad alliance.

The parties and movements participating in the alliance are the Communist Party of Greece-Interior, EDA, Socialist Initiative, *Sosialistiki Poreia* (Socialist March) and Christian Democracy.

Ever since the Communist party split in two in 1968, the Communist Party of Greece-Interior has identified itself with the democratic road to socialism. It has

adopted a strategy of "National Anti-Dictatorial Democratic Unity" in order to "consolidate and extend democracy and to bring about the democratic and socialist rebirth of Greece." This position represents the indigenous evolution of an important segment of the Greek Communist party away from the dogmatism that helped bring about its repeated defeats.

EDA was the single party of the left, including the then illegal Communist party, until the colonels' coup in 1967. In the 1958 elections it emerged as the second party in the Parliament. It is ideologically broad, and includes leftwing progressives, socialists and communists who chose not to align themselves with either wing of the Communist party after 1968.

Socialist Initiative is a social-democratic party of the Swedish type, critical of the conservatism of the German Social Democratic party and the British Labour party. It split from the Union of the Democratic Center when it became clear that the latter could not be brought to adopt a democratic socialist position.

Sosialistiki Poreia is a leftwing socialist movement. It split from the Panhellenic Socialist Movement because of a conflict with Papandreou's authoritarian behavior within the party. It has taken a strong stand for the unity of the left around an anti-imperialist strategy.

Christian Democracy is a Christian socialist movement which distinguished itself through its courageous and outspoken opposition to the junta. Its importance lies in its effort to bridge the traditional gulf separating the church from the left.

All the member organizations of the Alliance participated actively in the anti-junta resistance. The leaders and cadres of the alliance include many of the best known and most maltreated opponents and prisoners of the junta.

The alliance has formulated a Common Program for the elections and beyond. It has announced that its electoral goal is to prevent another government of the right that "would solidify the authoritarian rightist state, accelerate the destabilization of democracy, increase the threats against national independence and territorial integrity, further push the economy into a dead end, and demand more sacrifices from the working people while leaving intact the super-profits of the monopolies and the multi-national corporations."

CANADA

Danger ahead for NDP after Manitoba defeat

By John Richards

WINNIPEG—With a new leader often described as the most conservative major politician in the country, the Conservatives soundly defeated the Manitoba New Democratic party in Oct. 11 provincial elections. Prior to 1975 three of Canada's four western provinces were governed by the NDP. Now only one social democratic administration remains—in Saskatchewan—and it too is in serious danger of defeat at the next election.

The election is further evidence of the move right in western Canada. The shift is due in part to the inadequacies of NDP administrations but more fundamentally to the popular belief, encouraged by the vast oil wealth of Alberta, that corporate development of Canadian resources—whether it be via northern pipelines, British Columbia forests, Alberta tar sands, potash in Saskatchewan, or Manitoba nickel—can assure regional prosperity.

Provincial NDP governments, each in their own way combining prairie populism and the British Labour party tradition, have tried to assert the rights of the provincial government to tax away all excess profits, to launch publicly owned resource ventures, and have occasionally even argued against the ethos of exponen-

tial growth, but they have been outmaneuvered by the right.

Class and ethnic issues.

Manitoba lies north of Minnesota and the Dakotas, is about the size of Texas, and has a population of one million, over half of whom live in the commercial and industrial city of Winnipeg, the provincial capital.

The NDP came to office in 1969 as a populist, social democratic coalition of small farmers, northern miners, and urban workers, with the added support of most of the province's sizeable native population. That election was a revolt of the poor against the symbols of Manitoba wealth—the grain exchange, Great West Life and other Manitoba financial corporations, and above all against Churchill Forest Industries, a massive northern pulp and paper development project. The project, largely funded by provincial government loans, was controlled via a complex corporate maze by European interests. The government lost over \$100 million on it, and the NDP took the owners to court.

In addition, the NDP victory was an ethnic revolt against the WASPs who have dominated Manitoba politics since the province entered confederation in the af-

termath of a successful Metis uprising in 1870.

The provincial Conservatives represent both WASPs and money.

In a bitter internal battle, the Conservatives recently ousted a moderate leader in favor of Sterling Lyon, now Premier, a man more ideologically committed to "free enterprise" and limited government. Not coincidentally, the former was a Jew; the current leader a WASP.

The bastions of Conservative electoral strength are prosperous rural communities, primarily of British origin, in southwest Manitoba, plus middle and upper class suburbs of South Winnipeg. Behind the electoral strength is the power of long established Winnipeg money.

A recurrent story among journalists covering this election was that Great West Life (a large insurance company whose corporate headquarters loom opposite the legislature as an architectural reminder that "money counts") had contributed \$600,000 to the Conservatives. A vast amount for such an election—over a dollar for every vote cast. The story was not well enough documented—and never likely to be, for that matter—for anyone to risk going public with it.

From 1969 to the present the NDP did

make some serious attempts to redistribute income. They instituted the most ambitious low-cost public housing program in the country, extended medicare to cover prescription drugs, established tax credits for middle and low income earners combined with increased corporate taxation, and sponsored some good labor legislation dealing with overtime and occupational health. However, the NDP, despite extending the range of publicly owned utilities and launching several publicly owned manufacturing ventures, only tinkered with the major sectors of the provincial economy.

Whether a regional government in a context of precarious electoral support (it had a minority of seats after 1969 and only a five-seat majority after 1973) could have successfully challenged major capitalist interest is by no means clear.

But there is a limit to any strategy based on welfare state reforms, and that limit is fast approaching for the NDP.

As the right accepts the welfare state as a necessary price for social peace (even Sterling Lyon's Conservatives cannot afford to undo much of it) the NDP's future is bleak unless it can transform more fundamental questions of popular vs. corporate power into real political issues.

USSR

Soviets refuse to rehabilitate Bukharin

By Louis Menashe
Soviet authorities, apparently at the highest level, have refused to rehabilitate Nikolai Bukharin, one of the most famous old Bolsheviks, who was tried and executed on criminal charges by the Stalin regime in 1938.

According to a document obtained by *IN THESE TIMES* through *samizdat* sources, an official representing the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party informed Bukharin's son of the decision without explaining the reasons behind it. The implication is that the original charges and the verdict of Bukharin's guilt still stand. Bukharin was put in the dock at the last of the famous show trials in 1938 with 20 other defendants, accused of conspiring to commit sabotage, espionage and treason against the Soviet Union, and was executed the same year.

No one takes the charges or the "confessions" of the accused seriously any more. The charges, which included every conceivable villainy from attempting to restore capitalism to murdering Soviet officials, were part of the Stalin regime's own conspiracy to discredit and eliminate all communist opposition. Confessions to the non-existent crimes were extracted through physical and other forms of coercion. In Bukharin's case, his confession is thought to have been forced in exchange for a promise to spare his wife and infant son.

A political act.

The decision not to rehabilitate Bukharin, therefore, is less a reaffirmation of his "guilt" than a political act on the part of present Soviet leaders. Several of Bukharin's co-defendants have already been rehabilitated. In 1962, a member of the Communist party's Central Committee (and himself one of Bukharin's accusers in 1937), said publicly: "Students ask whether Bukharin and others were spies of foreign states.... I may state that it is sufficient to study the documents of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU in order to say that neither Bukharin nor Rykov, of course, were spies or terrorists."

For several years during the '60s, when the Khrushchev government sponsored de-Stalinization measures, rumors circulated that Bukharin's political rehabilitation was around the corner, and that all the criminal charges against him were to be formally repudiated. Nothing of the kind took place, and the probability of rehabilitation weakened considerably with the fall of Khrushchev in 1964.

Since then, the Brezhnev regime has steered a cautious middle course on the touchy subject of the Stalinist past. The Brezhnev government stopped Khrushchev's campaign of pouring abuse on the dead dictator's memory, and even allowed favorable references to Stalin to turn up periodically.

Soviet leaders—Khrushchev included—have never questioned the wisdom of Stalin's major programs of the '30s—rapid tempos of industrialization at the expense of consumption, the forcible collectivization of peasant agriculture in a short period of time, the elimination of all internal opposition in the Communist party, and an enormous expansion of state power, especially its security organs.

A hellish machine.

As heirs and managers of the system such programs created, Soviet leaders have naturally refrained from condemning Stalinism root and branch. Instead, they have confined themselves to criticizing Stalin's personal "excesses" and his personality cult. In the late '20s Bukharin led the "right opposition" against Stalin's policies. Bukharin favored slower economic growth with a better balance between heavy and light industry and between industry and agriculture; he warned of the limitations of total, centralized economic planning, and he feared the economic, moral and political consequences of coercive strategies against the peasant masses.

In a final letter "To a Future Generation of Party Leaders," available only in *samizdat*, Bukharin described "his helplessness before a hellish machine, which...has acquired gigantic power, fabricates organized slander, acts boldly and confidently," and denounced the policies as "a degenerate organization of bureaucrats, without ideas, rotten, well paid...."

Bukharin's ghost, therefore, still points an accusing finger at present Soviet leaders who have not completely dismantled the "hellish machine." Bukharin's policy recommendations on economic development are still unacceptable to the regime, despite the economic debates and limited experiments of the '60s in the Soviet Union and the "market socialism" reforms

in Eastern Europe. The Brezhnev regime is not about to honor the reputation of a man whose ideas would call for an overhauling of basic Soviet economic structures.

An un-person.

In the West, interest in Bukharin's political and economic ideas has been stimulated by two important re-evaluations of the Soviet experience, Stephen F. Cohen's definitive political biography, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*, and Moshe Lewin's *Political Undercurrents in Soviet Economic Debates*. Both studies suggest that the Bolshevik tradition embodied workable alternatives to Stalinism, and sympathize with Bukharin's flexible, non-coercive approaches to building a socialist society. To keep the Soviet public in the dark about such alternatives, and about their own history, Bukharin, like Trotsky, has to remain an un-person.

The most recent *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, the official repository of basic information in the USSR, has no entry for Bukharin. To understand how bizarre this is, one has to be reminded that Bukharin was once a member of the Politburo, editor of *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, head of the Communist International, and, after Lenin and Trotsky, the most prolific and popular Bolshevik publicist and author.

Why Soviet authorities chose this moment to bar Bukharin's rehabilitation explicitly is not puzzling, given the current climate. The act is an additional step back from the de-Stalinizing reforms of the Khrushchev period. Keeping Bukharin's memory buried is consistent with the present campaign of repression, more intense than ever, against the dissidents. Bukharin, one of the great critics of historical Stalinism, can hardly be rehabilitated at a moment when critics of contemporary Stalinism are jailed, bullied, and driven abroad.

Stalinism and non-Stalinism.

The decision may also foreshadow even more positive official attitudes toward Stalin. The 25th anniversary of Stalin's death comes next spring, and 1979 will be the centennial year of his birth. Such occasions are always used by Soviet leaders to buttress present policies with historical symbols and "lessons" from the past. Challenges to Soviet orthodoxy from the Eurocommunists, with their emphasis on civil liberties and a program of gradual transition to socialism are virtually "Bukharinist" in tone. It is conceivable that to counter such challenges Soviet leaders might upgrade the reputation of Stalin, the arch-symbol of international communist orthodoxy and unity under Muscovite hegemony, and merciless foe of dissent.

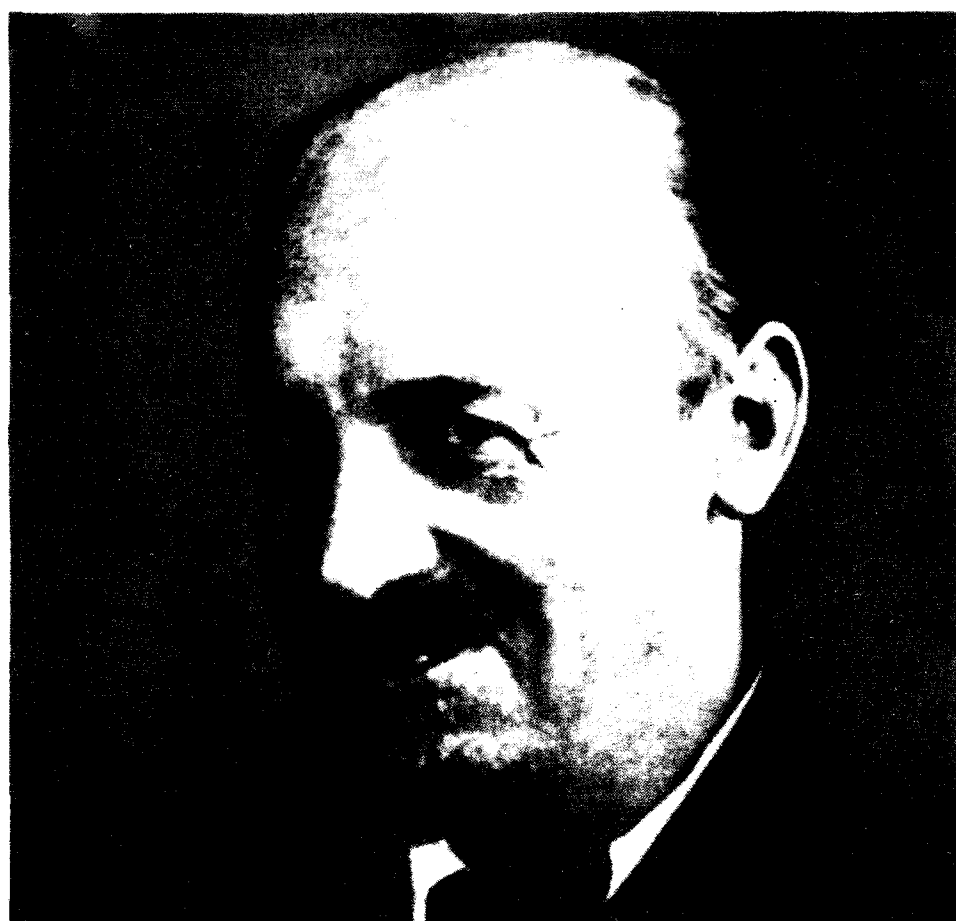
This is speculative, of course. But it seems safe to say that the whole post-Stalin period, from 1953 to the present, has seen Soviet leaders wavering between Stalinist and non-Stalinist ways of handling the enormous social change agitating the USSR. Thus far, neither trend has gained the upper hand. The Brezhnev leadership represents the temporary consolidation of the middle ground. In this light, the Bukharin decision may just be another gesture designed to mollify the Stalinists in the Brezhnev regime's continuing political balancing act.

A curious sidelight on the Bukharin episode: It comes at a time of tremendous publicity over the new Soviet constitution.

Many observers, especially Soviet dissidents at home and abroad, see the new document, with its stress on state powers and citizens' obligations to the state, as a retreat from the more liberal 1936 instrument. The author of the old constitution, written under the terrible cloud of impending purge and execution, was none other than Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin, 1888-1938.

Louis Menashe is professor of history at the Polytechnic Institute of New York and the author of numerous articles on Soviet society.

The decision not to rehabilitate Bukharin is less a reaffirmation of his "guilt" than a political act on the part of Soviet leaders.



THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT, TRANSLATED BY LOUIS MENASHE, IS A GOOD EXAMPLE OF SAMIZDAT (LITERALLY, "SELF-PUBLISHED"). SAMIZDAT IS A HUGE BODY OF WRITTEN MATERIAL THAT CANNOT BE PUBLISHED IN THE USSR BUT CIRCULATES WIDELY FROM HAND TO HAND, SOMETIMES IN MANY CARBON OR MIMEOGRAPHED COPIES. IT INCLUDES BELLES-LETTRES—POETRY, SONGS, WHOLE NOVELS, SHORT STORIES—AS WELL AS POLITICAL TRACTS, ARTICLES, DISCUSSION PAPERS, HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, PETITIONS AND LETTERS. IN THIS CASE, SAMIZDAT PROVIDES SOME SIMPLE INFORMATION—AN OFFICIAL, BUT UNPUBLICIZED DECISION ABOUT AN OLD BOLSHEVIK. THE THIRST FOR SIMPLE, UNVARNISHED INFORMATION IS PROBABLY THE SOVIET EDUCATED PUBLIC'S MOST INTENSE BASIC NEED. SAMIZDAT HELPS FILL IT.

A report on the rejection of N.I. Bukharin's rehabilitation

Early in June, 1977, an official of the Central Committee, Klimov, phoned at the apartment of A.M. Larina (N.I. Bukharin's widow) and asked that she get in touch with him. On June 9, since A.M. Larina was out of Moscow, Yu. N. Larin, her son and son of N.I. Bukharin, called the number indicated by Klimov and asked him hadn't he phoned in connection with the letters sent by Bukharin's son and widow on the eve of the 25th Congress [of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union] to the Congress itself, to the Presidium of the Congress, to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and personally to the General Secretary of the CC, CPSU, L.I. Brezhnev, appealing for Bukharin's rehabilitation. Klimov confirmed that his call was connected with this matter and said the following:

"I have been instructed to inform you that your appeal to have Bukharin reinstated in the Party and restored to full membership in the Academy of Sciences of the USSR cannot be granted since the guilty verdicts pertaining to the criminal offenses for which he was tried have not been set aside."

Yu. N. Larin replied that many of Bukharin's co-defendants have been rehabilitated; for example, Krestinsky, Ikramov, and Khodzhaev.

Klimov answered that obviously Larin didn't know that the majority of the accused at the trial had not been rehabilitated. Yu. N. Larin asked, "Do you really believe that Nikolai Ivanovich [Bukharin] murdered Gorky?" Klimov answered: "That question falls under the jurisdiction of the courts and the procurator's office." Yu. N. Larin asked: "Does that mean that you think I should turn to these bodies?" To this Klimov answered: "That's your right," but made it clear he oughtn't do that at the present time. "You should know how complicated the situation is now."

A.M. Larina and Yu. N. Larin first appealed for N.I. Bukharin's rehabilitation in 1961. Thus the rejection came 16 years after the first request and a year and a half after the last. (V.I. Lenin's friends, E.D. Stasova and V.A. Karpinsky, having made an analogous appeal in 1965, died and consequently never got an answer.)

Having received the foregoing statement, Yu. N. Larin addressed a petition for Bukharin's rehabilitation to the Chairman of the Supreme Court of the USSR on June 11, 1977

WASHINGTON, D.C.—*SPRING 1984:* The crocuses have blossomed and the cherry trees are in bloom. Jimmy Carter has spent March showing visiting dignitaries around the White House grounds. At his first April press conference a reporter asked him whether he was avoiding the political turmoil in Congress and in his own party. He responded bitterly that they didn't seem to need him, and he didn't need them.

Attacked from the left and the right, with his own party on the verge of splitting, and with the Western alliance, the prize of postwar diplomacy, about to disintegrate, Carter's early effervescence is gone. No spring chicken, he now looks like a plucked one: his eyes bulge, the cords on his neck are distended, and his singsong voice has become a monotone.

The coalition that put Carter in office is now united only by its members' distrust of him and their joy that he will no longer be President after next January.

Labor has condemned Carter for seeking an injunction against long coal and auto strikes. When he also used the strikes as a pretext for imposing wage-price controls, labor called a one-day work stoppage as a national protest. After having thrown in their lot with Carter in 1976 and 1980, they now see him as a friend of the corporations, willing to make labor pay for the failures of private capital to breathe life into America's sick economy.

Many corporate leaders are equally dissatisfied with Carter. They see wage-price controls and federal regulation of energy as the first step toward the abolition of free enterprise. They swear revenge on the technocratic elite that Carter installed in the Energy and Treasury departments. They have led a massive fund drive to revive the Republican party.

Minority leaders who hesitantly stood by Carter in 1980 have also abandoned him. They blame his indecision and weakness for the near-destruction of national health insurance by the insurance lobby, and the defeat of urban aid and teenage unemployment bills. They bristle at his lack of support for black Democrats in Southern senatorial races.

The suburban middle classes, whose support Carter won in 1980, are fed up with higher taxes. They are angry that prices are still going up despite wage-price controls.

Environmentalists charge Carter with having made nuclear energy America's only option. Feminists decry his pious enjoinders about the family and his refusal to support childcare legislation. Jews accuse him of having sold Israel down the river after having gotten him to promise in 1980 to be tough with the Arabs.

With Democrats divided between Carter loyalists who are backing Mondale in the primaries, a vocal right wing, and a coalition of labor, minorities, consumer and women's organizations forged in the mid-'70s and solidified at the 1982 mini-convention, the Republicans think they might score a comeback in the '84 elections. They are counting on a good response to charges that Carter and the Democrats could have prevented Communist victories in Burma and Thailand and the slide toward socialism in southern Europe. They also think they can exploit anti-union sentiment, made stronger by the 1983 strikes.

Carter is said to be resigned to a Republican victory if a left Democrat gets the nomination. He has even hinted that he will withhold his endorsement. But some political observers speculate that his support would be more of a liability than his tacit opposition, so widespread is the hostility to his administration.

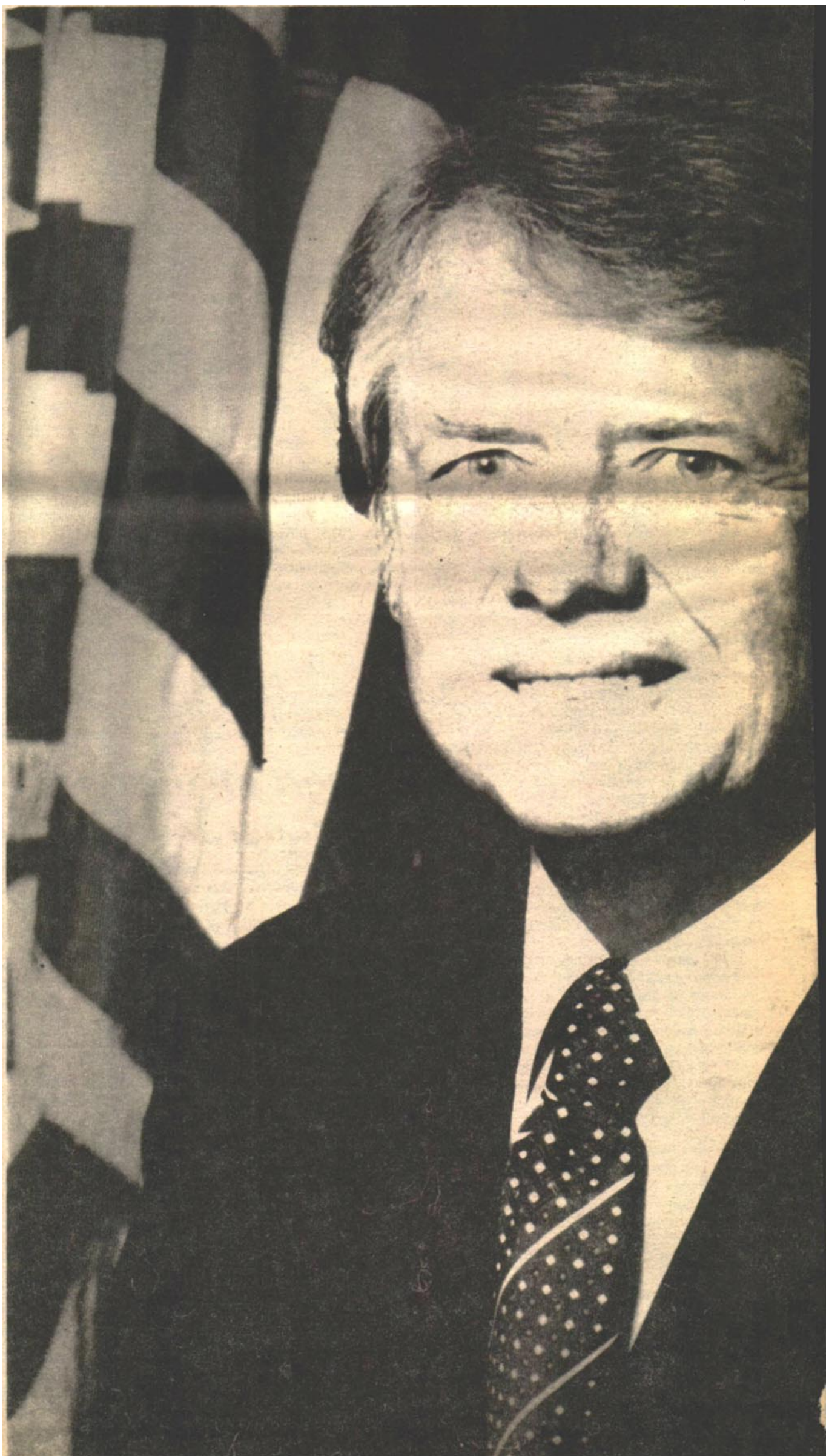
This is the sad fate of a man who once aspired to become the new South's version of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

* * *

Such a sketch of Carter in 1984 may seem implausible now. After all, there are no visible signs of revolt after almost a year, even though his popularity has diminished.

... But popular support and political stability eluded Car-

Will you still ne will you still he when it's '8



ed me, ed me, ?!

ter's predecessors, and he seems destined to share their fate.

Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon were each more popular in the polls after their first six and nine months than Carter was. But neither made it through eight years. Johnson and Nixon left office in different degrees of disgrace and on the verge of collapse. And Nixon's successor, Gerald Ford, became the first incumbent since Herbert Hoover to lose the presidency.

It was not lack of political skill or understanding that doomed them. Johnson and Nixon were far better prepared for the presidency than either Harry Truman or Dwight Eisenhower. They were victims of circumstances: the decline of western capitalism's fortunes.

This decline swept in its path not merely Johnson, Nixon and Ford, but also West Germany's Ludwig Erhard, Britain's Edward Heath and Harold Wilson; Italy's Aldo Moro and Japan's Kakuei Tanaka. It will probably claim Carter, Canada's Pierre Trudeau, Japan's Takeo Fukuda, France's Giscard d'Estaing, West Germany's Helmut Schmidt, Britain's James Callaghan and Italy's Giulio Andreotti.

The decline dates from the 1960s, but its roots are buried deep in the capitalist past.

With the U.S. playing the role of Britain, the western capitalist world is reenacting its history prior to WWI. But there is one crucial difference: the capitalist powers cannot resort to war to relieve growing tensions among them and to break the movement toward collective stagnation.

Today's capitalist leaders are therefore faced with a dilemma that no politician has ever faced before. That makes their task incomparably more difficult than that of their predecessors.

Fueled by a wealth of cheap natural resources from the Third World, a technological revolution, a docile labor movement and the urgent needs of postwar reconstruction, the western capitalist countries underwent an unparalleled period of expansion and prosperity in the post-WWII period. Politicians like Eisenhower, West Germany's Konrad Adenauer, Britain's Harold MacMillan, and France's Charles deGaulle were able to ride the wave of this prosperity.

But by the early '60s Europe and Japan had rebuilt their industry; the western labor movement had broadened and toughened. The U.S., the leading capitalist country, was thus being challenged by rival capitalist countries in a world market that was not growing fast enough for their industrial capacities. Each nation's industry was fighting to preserve its rates of profit in the face of militant labor movements.

The crunch might have come in 1965 had it not been for the Vietnam war, which inspired a final burst of expansion. When this artificial stimulus was withdrawn in the 1970s, the capitalist world awoke with a fright to the worst depression since the 1930s. The specter of trade wars, socialism, and collective stagnation hung over western Capitalism. It might have been 1914 all over again.

In 1914, however, the Third World played a more passive role than in 1974. Now politically independent, Third World oil-producing countries have scored a breakthrough by uniting in a cartel to protect their prices and to prevent western capitalism from shifting the burden of the depression upon them.

And a socialist world now exists, born largely out of the chaos engendered by two world wars. It provides a constant threat to western capitalism, particularly to its power over the Third World.

The nuclear stalemate between the U.S. and USSR rules out war between the capitalist and socialist countries. And the prospect of revolution in the Third World and in the capitalist countries makes another world war between the capitalist countries virtually unthinkable.

As a result, all capitalists can look forward to is continued stagnation, heightened rivalry among themselves that must be stopped short of war, and growing opposition to their rule from working classes tired of the sacrifices that capitalism imposes upon them.

Richard Nixon and Lyndon Johnson were victims of the transition from the old order to the new. They had to defend the American empire and ensure continued prosperity, and in the end were able to do neither. Nixon, in particular, created a deep distrust of executive power among Americans and, in his efforts to protect America's economic supremacy, nearly wrecked the Western alliance.

Jimmy Carter took office determined not to make Nixon's mistakes. He had a global and national strategy forged largely in discussions with members of the David Rockefeller-sponsored Trilateral Commission. The only way to prevent war or revolution, Commission members argued, was to introduce new levels of planning among and within the western capitalist countries.

The Commission members rejected Nixon's "super power" diplomacy, in which relations between the U.S., the USSR and China had been the central focus, in favor of strengthening and deepening the alliance among the major capitalist countries. Collectively, it was thought the trilateral countries of Japan, Europe, and North America could deal with both the socialist camp and the Third World. They could also stem trade wars among themselves and work out agreements to equalize the costs of recession and to prevent the weaker countries from succumbing to a socialist challenge.

In the U.S., Commission members foresaw that the problems created by inflation, unemployment and flagging private investment could not be solved by the free

market or by the usual government half measures. They wanted the executive branch to have the power to adjust relations between different parts of the economy: to prevent a private energy industry from wreaking havoc on America's basic industry, or a militant labor movement from destroying business profits and incentive to invest.

In the new order, they reasoned, labor would have to moderate its wage demands and forego destructive strikes, and capital would have to make investments even when the rate of return was modest. With wage-price controls, unemployment could also be reduced and social services expanded without driving up wages and then prices.

From the beginning, Carter expected there to be intense opposition to these initiatives and set about creating a political image that would permit him to rally support irrespective of his programs. He projected himself as a defender of human rights around the world. Using the symbols of thrift, openness and public accountability, he tried to appear as Nixon's antithesis, even as he sought like Nixon to bolster the authority of the executive branch over Congress and the people.

But in his first nine months, Carter's most critical initiatives fell flat. Congress refused to let the new Energy department set prices. The committee of top labor and corporate representatives that Carter set up to consider an anti-inflation program threatened a walkout at the mere mention of "voluntary wage-price standards." His anti-recession measures were stymied by Arthur Burns' Federal Reserve.

Overseas, Carter could not get Germany and Japan to shoulder more costs of the recession. He could not stem Eurocommunism's rise. With labor and industry opposition at home, he was hamstrung in free trade negotiations; the dangers of a trade war and of a deeper recession have grown.

Only Carter's human rights advocacy was a clear success. Not only did it win approval at home, but it temporarily arrested America's declining image in the Third World. But of all his policies, it is the most likely to be abandoned. Its success depends upon its ultimate failure in arousing and legitimizing liberation movements in such areas as Latin America, the Philippines, southern Africa and South Korea that would, in the end, threaten American interests.

On the policy front, Carter's first nine months have been no model of success, and things promise to get worse rather than better as the recession continues and tensions in the Western alliance grow.

Despite his failings, Carter may survive through 1980. A moderate Republican could beat him, but it is unlikely that he will get the chance. The Republicans seem bent upon repeating their experience in 1964 when they followed a close loss with a sure defeat.

But Democratic predominance in the 1980 Congress may only accelerate the process of division within the Democratic party that has been taking place since the mid-'60s. The key may be in labor's role.

In 1977 labor began to seek allies from among groups that the AFL-CIO fought bitterly in 1968 and 1972—feminists, minority leaders, consumer advocates and even environmentalists. George Meany's expected departure may increase the likelihood that the AFL-CIO and the UAW will lead the revolt in the party against Carter's state capitalist solutions to America's economic problems.

Carter, should he be victorious in 1980, will face increased pressure from his advisors to do by executive fiat what he cannot get Congress to agree to. Wage-price controls will probably be in order; energy will come under the federal thumb, and perhaps more sectors of basic industry as well. Open negotiations among the capitalist powers may give way to secret negotiations and deals. By 1984, Carter's relations with Congress may well resemble those of Richard Nixon and Lyndon Johnson.

If leftists take power in Asia and Africa, Carter will also have his commitment to non-intervention and human rights tested. Perhaps Carter's greatest test will come in western Europe where left governments could ring down the curtain on the Western alliance.

There are also historical timebombs ready to go off. A war in the Mideast would leave Carter no easy options. Neither would a guerrilla war that spread through southern Africa.

The most deadly timebomb of all is located in Moscow. The Soviet Union must liberalize its society to overcome its economic torpor, but its leadership hesitates to do so because of the political forces it would unleash both there and in eastern Europe. Eventually—perhaps before 1984—they will have to undertake liberalization, and when they do, a political explosion will rock Europe.

* * *

Can Carter maintain his smile and his easy southern ways through all of this? If beneath that smile is a man of heroic personal will and understanding, and if heroes cannot merely make but reverse history, then perhaps Carter will sail down the Potomac with his charm and smile intact.

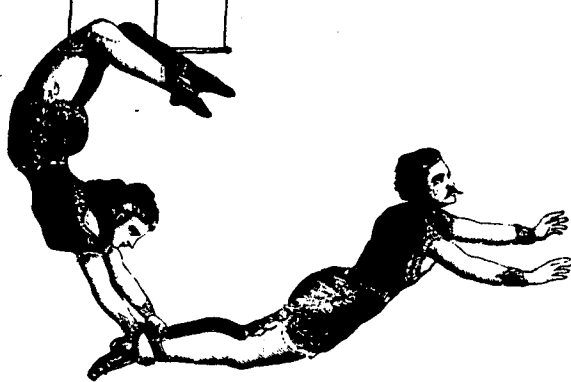
But if it is not heroes, but the mundane conjunction of industrial and social relations that shape the course of history, then Carter may be only the helpless captain of another *Titanic*.

A different version of this article will appear in the *January Mother Jones*.



FE84

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
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IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

A restatement of our principles

Our first editorial one year ago stated basic principles underlying this newspaper—principles that we restate and reaffirm with the beginning of our second year:

- Our overriding commitment is to democracy, to socialism as the means to its attainment, and to the inseparability of democracy and socialism in modern industrial society.

- We are convinced that capitalism is irreconcilable with a democracy based on the indivisibility of liberty and equality.

- We recognize the urgency of moving toward socialism to preserve and extend democracy in the everyday practice and in the convictions of the people.

- We will continuously explore the meaning of a socialist democracy rooted in the American people's experience and in their struggle to change the capitalist present.

- We will focus upon translating the principles of self-determination and citizen participation, essential to democracy, into their socialist meanings.

- We proceed on the premise that socialism is not the private property of self-proclaimed vanguards but represents the struggles, the experiences, the thinking of the working class and ultimately the entire people as a democratic citizenry.

At the heart of our approach is the conviction that diversity is the soul and basis of any democratic socialist unity:

- The diversity of the working class now and of a healthy people in a socialist society.

- The diversity *within* socialism—the diversity of ideas, outlooks, experiences, and values among socialists and socialist organizations.

- It follows from this that we anticipate and favor a diversity of movements for socialism that will have to forge unity among themselves in mutual consent and with respect for differences and disagreements.

- We favor multiparty politics in capitalist America and in a socialist America.

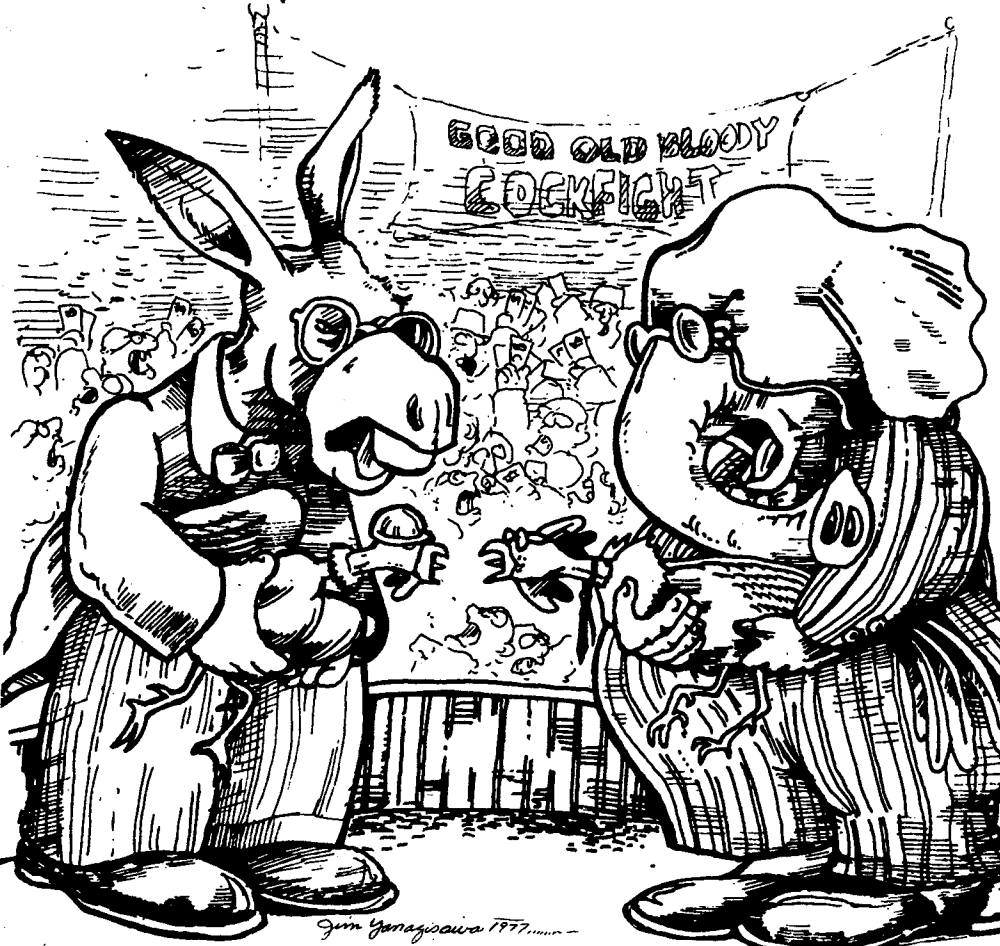
- Finally, we are committed to the principle of civic initiative through freedom of association, conscience, advocacy, and travel. We take as fundamental the principle that sovereignty resides with the people, not with the government, the state, the party. Corporate-capitalism has made the sovereignty of the people a dead letter. The socialism deserving our commitment will rejuvenate, honor and practice it.

These principles are by no means exhaustive, but they are intended as the grounds for adapting the American democratic tradition to socialism, and the socialist vision to the American political culture.

They represent the view that a socialist revolution in the U.S. will be a revolution for political, social, and economic democracy against an increasingly authoritarian and statist corporate capitalism. And they express the recognition that political principles and political "forms" are integral to the class struggle to transform the property system.

The ideological and political strength of American capitalism has resided in the ability of the capitalist class to identify its property system with the democratic traditions of liberty, equality, the sovereignty of the people, and limited government. The ideological and political weakness of the American socialist movement has in large part been a result of its predominant identification with statist authoritarianism and with a lack of serious concern for American democratic traditions.

But American corporate capitalism has reached a point in its development where its power and its profitability must rely increasingly upon a centralized statist author-



The movement for social goals against corporate aggrandizement is just beginning to honeycomb the American body politic. In this process the American socialist movement may grow, build legitimacy among the American people and gain moral authority as representing the general welfare of society as a whole

ority. The political system of American capitalism must more and more restrict liberty, disown equality, and abolish the last remnants of popular sovereignty.

In recognition of this historical development we emphasize the urgency of building a socialist movement to preserve and extend democracy.

Accordingly, our principles embody the broad strategy of identifying socialism, in our own minds and in the minds of the people, with the restoration of popular sovereignty through economic and political self-government that guarantees both liberty and equality. This means a socialism opposed to the statism of corporate-capitalism and committed to self-government of the people as citizens, as workers, and as freely associating members of social, political, religious, and civic organizations. It means a socialism for which this general outlook is not simply a strategy but a matter of basic principles applicable both to the socialist movement in its development and to a future socialist society.

The necessity and desirability of diversity as the basis of working class and socialist unity, through free debate and democratic conflict, are the central corollary of this approach. Its necessity flows from the diversity of the American working class itself—in terms of region, function, ethnic and racial origins, sex, religion, and social experience. Its desirability flows from the strength such diversity brings to the working class and to a socialist movement, making them representative of society as a whole. Its desirability comes as

well from the healthy variability it assures and the openness it guarantees to experimentation and to future possibilities.

A socialist movement suited to the American people must draw upon and express that diversity as the basis of forging unity against capitalism. Concretely, to be politically relevant, socialists must recognize the necessity and desirability of diverse movements for socialism free of doctrinal orthodoxy. We must publicly state our ideas, principles, and programmatic objectives, thereby submitting them to the judgment and the participation of the people.

We therefore favor socialists entering the electoral arena and working to expand popular participation in that arena, both because electoral politics is an essential dimension of working class struggle against corporate power, and because it is the effective way of building into the socialist political movement democratic norms of behavior rooted in popular sovereignty. It is also the way to build the people's moral, political, and organizational strength against corporate-capitalism's ideological blandishments, political usurpations, and possible resort by it to military force.

Existing movements.

In the past several years the organized labor movement has begun to go beyond narrow collective bargaining politics to a struggle over the control of the investment system as the condition for protecting its members' immediate interests. In so doing it needs and is seeking allies to the

left. Similarly, blacks, women, hispanics, consumer-protection, environmental, energy, and community organizations have moved increasingly into conflict with the corporate investment system in the pursuit of their respective goals. However timid the tendency still is, it is there and it is persistent. It represents the potential of these movements' convergence upon a challenge to corporate power. But as movements posed against the corporate order, they insist upon alternatives that, while productive of a more equalitarian society, are also consistent with democratic liberties. They know that exploitation, in new forms and old, flourishes where liberty is denied.

These diverse movements in conflict with corporate power display the incipient development of a politics tending toward democratic socialism. By their very nature they must assert legislative programs against a party politics that sends their enemies to the legislatures. Movements oriented to legislative programs in working people's interests may formulate social goals opposed to the system of investment for profit and around which to organize and agitate.

But this means that the various movements must mobilize their energies and resources to elect new types of representatives to city councils, state legislatures, and Congress—representatives from the ranks of labor, women, blacks, and others who will champion the people's interests and popular sovereignty against corporate power. The election of anti-corporate governors, or a president, will be of no avail without the transformation of the legislatures.

A beginning.

The movement for social goals against corporate aggrandizement is just beginning to honeycomb the American body politic. In this honeycombing process the American socialist movement may grow, build its legitimacy among the American working people, and gain moral authority as representing the general welfare of society as a whole. That will entail making creative use of the American federal experience, in order to maximize decentralized authority while taking advantage of national coordination and transferring power from the state to the people in their public associations.

The various movements in conflict with corporate power, like those against the slave power in the mid-19th century, may be expected to appear within the Democratic party, in independent party movements, and in non-party organizations (and even in sections of the Republican party). These movements may be expected to force a basic realignment in American party politics before they converge in a new major party oriented toward a socialist democracy. We anticipate this process occurring in the near future, particularly if socialists do their part and put aside preconceptions borrowed from past times and other lands and adapt themselves to the American scene.

In the anticipation of such a future in our own times, we believe the principles we here reaffirm are especially compelling. The old American slogan, *E Pluribus Unum*, may be our rallying cry, in the name of which we may not only contribute to the creation of a socialist republic dedicated to both liberty and equality, but also give birth to a United States willing and able to join hands in mutual cooperation with the working people of the other nations of the world.

Does all this seem utopian? Well, let us make the most of it. Utopias make reality just as they spring from it. Besides, they are in the American—and the revolutionary—grain.

Letters

A note of sanity on the Middle East

Editor:

It is no solution to the problem of the Middle East to dismiss the plight of the Palestinian refugees by saying that "they could have been assimilated long ago by the oil-rich Arab states" or because, in the opinion of some, "they are pawns of their Arab masters" (Letter, *ITT*, Nov. 2).

To discuss the Middle East question one should know something of history. At a minimum I will mention the guarantees to the Arabs of full sovereignty in return for their assistance against the Turks, the Syke-Picot Agreement, the Balfour Declaration and the circumstances surrounding the issuance and the betrayal of every promise made to the Arabs. And above all, one should be aware of the history of the British policy in implementing the immigration of the Jews to Palestine.

While the solution to the problems may not be evident, the starting point is to admit that a grave injustice has been done to the Palestinians by the creation of a modern diaspora. Unless this is done, there is no hope beyond the pragmatic solution of might.

-D.B. Lawrence
Weaverville, N.C.

And a voice of sanity on terrorism

Editor:

Frank Scott's letter "In Praise of 'Terror,'" (*ITT*, Nov. 2), brings front and center the issue of confused allegiances and definitions on the left. Scott would foist the SLA on us as good guy revolutionaries who, after all, only kidnapped a millionairess.

Serious people ought to call things by their right names. The SLA was a band of insufferably callow, self-righteous middle-class jerks who canonized a sick former prison informer, proclaimed themselves—all 17 of them—"the people," and decided who in the rest of the 230 million population of "fascist pigs" should be murdered—starting with an able, conscientious black superintendent of schools in Oakland. If they were not led by police agents, they might as well have been. Rather than investing them with the aura of the left, leftists (as some did) should have publicly denounced them and wished them no success.

The lack of a solid socialist left in this land has led to wild confusion among some folks of good radical instincts. This ranges from backing hawkish union bureaucrats because they are "labor," and endowing Jimmy Carter with wistful hopes of making fundamental changes, all the way to cheering criminal irresponsibles like Timothy Leary, who persuaded many teens that LSD was an answer, and Eldridge Cleaver, who proclaimed Hitler to be the greatest white man who ever lived.

Now we have a "left" paen for the SLA gang. Does Scott's benediction for "revolutionary" terrorists include the Japanese Red Army zombies who loosed machine-gun fire at random into travelers at an airport? Murderers of Olympic athletes, school children and commercial airline pilots? If the world hasn't learned in this century that non-human means lead to rotten ends, it hasn't learned much.

Scott asks: which side are you on? Well, I am on the side of winning the American people to a far more sensible, humanistic organization of society than callous monopoly capitalism. Certainly not on the side of nuthouse random murderers who profane the

word left and who are a mirror image of the worst features of the system they profess to fight.

-Lester Rodney
Torrence, Calif.

Better insight

Editor:

I have been an ardent reader of your weekly ever since the first issue. Every week you show me the world and our bitter problems in a different and truer light than any other paper I know of.

Your articles on labor questions here and on political trends in France and Italy have given me a more intimate insight into situations that will in time change the climate in America and in many parts of Europe. I want to thank you for that and also express my best wishes on the first anniversary, with hopes for a continued and long existence.

-Carla E. Wolf
Newton, Mass.

And free (from what?) sex

Editor:

Eli Zaretsky (*ITT*, Nov. 2) never really answers his own question: why is sex so often a source of anguish and despair? He contents himself with disconcerting shop talk that tends to obscure the fact that sexual relations involve emotional situations. Stripping sex of "mystery" and "romance" is not the same thing as ignoring the nuances of personal relationships that are subjectively experienced and have as much to do with sexual response as sexual roles, goals and techniques.

Neither the shift in social pressures nor a shift away from goal-oriented sex can relieve the pain of attrition that afflicts long-term relationships. The need for compassion, empathy and even humor—hardly erotic qualities—is implicit in the process of communication which underscores M&J sex therapy. Yet Zaretsky never examines the labyrinthine ways in which sexuality is touched by the cumulative effects of disappointment and defeat, the trail of resentment and betrayal, the dislocations and strains that provide long-term partners with pretexts for revenge and which erode tenderness and respect.

The separation of sexuality and reproduction is only one precondition for "pleasurable and free (from what?) sex." There are others. To ignore the rest is to make each of us a Peeping Tom at the vast erotic spectacle that the "sexual revolution" seems to have become to the media.

A re-examination of the case for marriage as we know it (or sexual exclusivity) might be a more useful undertaking than a cursory overview of a "new form of sex."

-Maureen Mullarkey
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Seething indirection

Editor:

John Judis' piece on punk rock was particularly well put. The line: "This absence of a political or social context gives Punk its seething indirection that encompasses intimations of liberation as well as of authoritarianism and misogyny," sums it up well. Onward with building a viable American left that puts punk rock as well as the Democratic party into perspective, and much more.

-Dan McIntyre
Missoula, Mont.

The baby and bathwater syndrome

Editor:

Despite "fragmentations and reverses" the left may have a chance to revive, but not with the contradictory analysis that Roberta Lynch recently offered (*ITT*, Oct. 26). Lynch started out by correctly stating that we cannot ignore the "sectarian" left because they have organizing energy and input into mass organizations.

Then, in the very next paragraph she lumps them all together for being on the

other side when it comes to "democracy," and proceeds to belittle (if not ignore) them. After declaring that "they are usually more obsessed with maneuvering to have their own line adopted than with honestly working to involve people..." she proceeds to give the NAM view on freedom in socialist countries.

Although I agree with Lynch on the shortcomings of many of the groups on the "sectarian" left, I think that lumping them together as groups and forgetting to address the *people* in these groups (many who *are* honestly working to involve people) can only add to the fragmentation process. Otherwise, this type of approach can lead to viewing the *Guardian's* work as simply Silber's "Fan the Flames" and ignore the fine coverage and analysis contributed by Ben Bedell, Richard Ward, Burchett, and others.

It's time to stop ignoring people simply because (oh forbid!) they might be a "Trot."

-Daniel Neal Graham
Syracuse, N.Y.

But it was diet cola—or a Coke with Cuban sugar?

Editor:

Your excellent paper has always been a welcome article in the mail where we work. We are particularly interested in the Chautauqua announcement in your October 19 issue. While the Chautauqua program sounds outstanding, we must confess our surprise at the poster ad for this upcoming event ("refreshment of the mind"), which at first glance appeared to be a parody. How can the mind be nourished by a symbol of junk food—soda pop?

Neither of us is a natural foods purist, since we both eat products containing added sugar now and then. Nevertheless, we find little to applaud in the soft drink industry. Having saturated the U.S. market, the big corporations in this field now purvey their worthless wares throughout the globe, including countries where primary foodstuffs are in scarce supply for much of the population. Soda pop is like so many other frivolous Western commodities identified with the "good life" that in reality compound existing problems among the poor. Only dentists and doctors can profit from the proliferation of such sugary products.

It is also important to note that much of the sugar nurturing America's sweet-tooth is produced on arable land in countries like the Dominican Republic, where it would make much more sense to grow basic crops for local consumption. Only the wealthy benefit from the present cash cropping-for-export.

Soft drinks are not only a nutritional and economic loss, but an ecological problem as well. Disposable containers require enormous amounts of energy to produce and clean up, even if they are recycled. The beverage industries will undoubtedly continue to fight statutory bans on non-returnables, continue to propagandize for resource "recovery" (instead of source reduction of solid waste), continue to misrepresent the employment impact of bans on disposables.

In short, we hope that *ITT* will find a more appropriate symbol of nourishment than soda pop to promote its Chautauqua program.

-David Fry
-Nancy Fry
Chevy Chase, Md.

Wake up, socialists, it's the government that controls business

Editor:

The very idea of a "social investment system" replacing the capitalist system borders on the absurd (What's Good for Business is Bad for Us," *ITT*, Nov. 2).

The expertise you display in revealing the current problems our economy experiences is astounding. But, when it comes to a fair and open analysis of the reasons for our economic mess (and, for that matter, intelligent solutions to the problem), you fall far short.

When will the liberals of this country wake up to the realization that it is not

the heartless corporate monster that is responsible for inflation and unemployment; rather, the blame can only be placed on the muddleheaded in Washington. (But alas, the real blame falls on all of us for allowing the economic uneducated [but well meaning] to lead us).

You state that the economy and the people's well-being are too important to leave to the "confidence" and "incentive" of businessmen. Well, I submit to you that it is government, not business, that has been primarily responsible for the direction our economy has taken as of late.

At the same time, our people have lost a little more freedom. It sickens me to think how little we all receive from government for the tremendous amount of taxes we pay in. Wake up you socialists! Your equitable solutions to our economic ills will only cause a greater loss of freedom for every American. Direct your energies toward the advocacy of a loosening of the government stranglehold that plagues the economy.

-J. Kirkpatrick
Kansas City, Mo.

Boycott Chicago

Editor:

ITT has been very strongly for: justice, freedom, equality—all those good things.

Why has it not supported the ERA travel and convention boycott? There have been many organizations boycotting states and convention cities where ERA has not been passed. Women's organizations have been advocating the boycott for some time.

The effectiveness of the boycott is substantiated by the Page 1 story, Oct. 23 in the *Chicago Tribune*, reporting some \$15 million in revenue lost from cancelled conventions, according to the Chicago Tourism and Convention Bureau.

And yet, *ITT* is sponsoring an old-fashioned conference in the city of Chicago. Isn't that quite a contradiction in positions?

-Stina L. Hirsch
Evanston, Ill.

Editor's note: No, it is not. The Chautauqua is not a convention that will bring large numbers of people to Chicago, it is a meeting in Chicago primarily for Chicago area residents. Where else could we have had the meeting?

A commitment

Editor:

I've been making a ritual of going to our coop bookstore every Wednesday for the week's copy of *ITT*. But to be sure I get it and to give you the support you need, I've decided to commit my reading-self to you for a year.

-Diane Nettles
Oakland, Calif.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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Manning Marable

An anatomy of black politics: Inescapable poverty and racism



The election of 1976 also expressed a vote of confidence in black elected officials. Four of the 17 members of the Black Congressional Caucus received over 90 percent of the vote in their districts. Twelve black Representatives garnered over 80 percent majorities. Only four black Congressmen, including Andrew Young of Atlanta, were seriously challenged, but none of their opponents received more than 39 percent of the district's vote. Black elected officials and civil rights organizations had registered 9.5 million blacks, an increase of one million above 1972. 64 percent of all registered blacks went to the polls, compared to 58 percent only four years before.

Only one year ago James Earl Carter, former peanut farmer and south Georgia Democrat, was elected President, largely on the strength of the black electorate. In at least 13 states—including Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, Alabama and Texas—the black vote proved to be the decisive factor in providing Carter's margin of victory. In Mississippi, for example, Carter received 147,540 votes from blacks, enough support to create a slim statewide majority of 11,537 votes over Gerald Ford. The largest number of black voters in history came to the polls.

But President-elect Carter appointed relatively few blacks to high administrative positions, and for several months he remained silent about the creation of federal jobs for minorities. The Humphrey-Hawkins bill and the principle of full employment became dead letters. Yet many black Democrats expressed satisfaction when Congressman Andrew Young was appointed Ambassador to the United Nations. Throughout the winter and early

months of spring they decided to wait for the new President to act.

By May, the Carter administration announced an end to "new programs" for social welfare and education in an attempt to balance the federal budget by 1981. With the approval of Federal Reserve Board chairman Arthur Burns, Carter announced that his new priorities were to cut inflation and to stimulate the business sector. Bert Lance, then head of the Office of Management and Budget, and chief economist Charles Schultze criticized liberal Democratic-Keynesian proposals that called for public jobs. Although Carter had promised the previous autumn to cut the defense budget by five to seven billion dollars, he actually increased defense spending to \$111.8 billion.

In the early summer months many prominent liberals sharply criticized Carter. Sen. George McGovern declared that "the corporations have cried the wolf of 'business confidence' and the administration has run scared." Even the *New Republic*, which had "cautiously" endorsed Carter, deplored his "moral" opposition to the use of Medicaid funds for abortions. Cold warriors like Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and democratic socialists joined a growing chorus of organized labor, feminists and liberal intellectuals in opposition to Carter's entire domestic program. In the wake of growing liberal-left criticism, Vernon Jordan of the Urban League voiced reservations about the Carter administration.

One year after Carter's electoral triumph, the political and economic condition of black America is in crisis. Official unemployment figures for blacks

range from 13.2 percent for men, 40.4 percent for teenagers nationwide, and as high as 80 percent for teenagers in New York and other cities. The Urban League's unofficial unemployment figures are considerably higher. The "recovery" of 1975-77 never reached the ghetto.

Black petty bourgeois supporters of Carter had anticipated a flood of social legislation similar to Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. They were greatly disappointed with Carter's backhanded support for Alan Bakke, and upset with the small number of federal patronage jobs made available to them. In September, 15 black leaders submitted at Urban League headquarters in New York to propose a counter-political strategy to meet the steadily deteriorating conditions of black urban poor. Many of the black leaders who attended the conference—Parren Mitchell, Bayard Rustin, Benjamin Hooks and Jesse Jackson—had been among the chief supporters of Carter earlier in the year. Declaring that they had been fooled and betrayed, Jackson charged Carter with "callous neglect." Gary, Ind. mayor Richard Hatcher declared, "Now it's difficult for any black leader who pushed the election of Jimmy Carter to face the people he campaigned with."

What went wrong? Neither Carter nor the Democratic party can be accused of "betraying" the real interests of blacks and the poor, since they never committed themselves to the socialist transformation of America's political economy, which is essential in destroying the inequities that black leaders complain about so dramatically. The 15 representatives of elite black civil and political society were primarily concerned about losing their own constitu-

ents, as the "Carter malaise" filtered downward through black America.

The current crisis in black political leadership is, more fundamentally, an expression of the deeper crisis within the black community. Most black federal, state and local officials tend to represent increasingly conservative black middle-class voters who support, consciously or not, the political economy of capitalism, and are only interested in marginal reforms. Vernon Jordan, Barbara Jordan and a host of others defend these interests.

But the inescapable reality of permanent poverty and racism still constitutes the heart of the black American experience. The real income gap between all black and all white families has steadily increased. In 1971, median white family income was \$10,672 per year, compared to \$6,440 for blacks, a gap of \$4,232. By 1974 white families were earning \$13,356, and blacks were making only \$7,808, a gap of \$5,548. The median black family income is roughly 58 percent of the amount earned by a similar white family.

It is to these people that black socialists must address their agenda, by listening to their grievances and concerns, by responding to beliefs and insights. Only by organizing a mass black political party that rejects elitism and the hegemony of the black petty bourgeoisie over indigenous protest institutions can the fundamental problems of black Americans be addressed.

Manning Marable is chairperson of the Department of Political Science, Tuskegee Institute, Ala., and an associate fellow of the Institute of the Black World, Atlanta.

Barbara Ehrenreich

The women's movement must rethink its image and revamp its program



I remember the heady days of the early Women's Liberation Movement when we knew we would win simply because we outnumbered them. Unlike students, or blacks, or even the industrial working class, women are a majority category. All we had to do was get the word around to our 52 percent of the population and, in any fair fight, we'd have it made.

But now, eight or so years later, the women's movement is beleaguered—in some regions, almost cornered. The ERA has been defeated in every state except Indiana where it's come up in the last two years. Abortion rights have gone through so much legislative surgery that it's questionable whether they'll survive at all. And perhaps the most bitter pill of all: the rank and file opposition to the ERA and abortion is not coming from bands of testosterone-crazed males, but from women. (A recent poll shows that men are more likely to favor the ERA than women.) So much for that old 52 percent majority and the idea that sisterhood wells eternal in the female breast!

But by now we've had enough experience with the anti-feminist opposition to begin to analyze and make some distinctions. Just as all feminists are not unkempt man-haters or hard-headed female executives (pick your favorite perjorative image), not all anti-feminists are deluded fundamentalists, Ku Klux Klan fans, or dupes of the Vatican. As least half—maybe far more—of the current and potential anti-feminist opposition *should* be on our side. And will be, if we're willing to develop a feminist politics that speaks to the real needs of a majority of American women in the late '70s.

There is, of course, the hard-core, politically conscious, upper middle class-based

rightwing opposition. For the rising American New Right, abortion and the ERA are only part of a long list of issues that includes opposition to busing, the Panama Canal Treaty, gay rights, and car pools (they erode individualism). It's a nostalgic kind of politics, calling for the good old days of Pat Boone, Doris Day and Joe McCarthy, when "love and marriage went together like a horse and carriage," when "Negroes" were either inoffensive or invisible, and when homosexuality was a disease ranking in social acceptability slightly lower than leprosy or advanced syphilitic degeneration.

Aside from the conscious right-wingers, there's a whole other constituency for anti-feminism. Most of them are housewives. Unlike anti-ERA leader Phyllis Schlafly, though, they don't have their own housekeepers, secretaries, and private family bomb shelters. But they're scared, too. The sexual and cultural "revolution" of the last ten years didn't liberate them. Forty percent of marriages end in divorce, and something like 60 percent of divorced men skip out on alimony and child-support payments before a year is over (without any help from the ERA, it should be noted).

Men are irresponsible, but what are the choices for these housewives? \$2.35 an hour standing behind a counter or assembly line while you wonder what the kids are doing? And what does feminism have to offer when its most visible representations are *Ms.*, *Viva*, *Working Woman*, etc.—all aimed, more or less, at slender, youngish career women who have credit cards, therapists and several ongoing affairs? Rightwing anti-feminism at least seems to offer some simple comforts:

That motherhood will be respected. That families will hold together. That things will go back to being more or less like they were supposed to be when you first got engaged.

But, of course, the right wing can't offer any real security because its class interests are opposed to those of the average working class or lower middle class housewife. Rightwing anti-feminists rhapsodize about the glories of homemaking, but oppose pensions for women who have put in a lifetime of it. They "honor motherhood" but oppose measures—like a guaranteed annual income—that could free mothers from total economic dependence on a man. They adore all fetuses until the moment they exit from the birth canal and add to the welfare rolls, the school tax rate and the nation's Medicaid bill. And of course the right has nothing to offer the working mother trying to make ends meet on a \$2-3/hour—except perhaps some expensively-produced literature on her "right" to work in an open shop.

I still think the women's movement has a fighting chance to become a *majority* movement. Phyllis Schlafly—plus the rest of the John Birch Ladies' Auxiliary types—is an enemy, no matter how many hormones we have in common. But the woman in curlers pushing a shopping cart with a few toddlers in tow and worrying about the price of ground chuck is, or should be, a sister.

If feminism is going to mean anything to her the movement will have to re-think its image and revamp its program. Somewhere along the line the image of "feminism" got taken over by the \$1-and-up magazines, the gray-suited businesswoman with attache cases, and the purveyors

of assertiveness training for managerial women—as if all we wanted was a chance to integrate, one by one, into the man's system. But the radical thrust of feminism always lay in its insistence on our connectedness as women: that we would support each other, stand together, and re-make the world for *all* women, for all people. Is it too late to re-make our public image in our own image?

As for program: There's no getting around it, in late 1977, a majority-oriented program for women's liberation has to focus directly on a few economic issues like adequate welfare and child support, full employment, decent wages for women's work, etc. So long as most women are economically dependent on an individual man—and so long as there are no visible, social alternatives—we might as well concede defeat to Mirabel Morgan of *Total Woman*. But if we can make the issues of economic justice central to the idea of women's liberation, then there'll be a lot more women on our side.

This means expanding beyond the narrow ground that mainstream feminism has retreated to in the face of the New Right threat: Broadening, not narrowing, our concerns. Linking the ERA, for example, to the overall problem of women's economic security. Linking abortion rights to the need for decent health care and day care. Building alliances with everyone else who's threatened by the New Right campaign—minority group movements, the gay movement, the labor movement.

Publications like *ITT* can be a big help in doing this. Happy birthday, *ITT*!

*Barbara Ehrenreich is co-author of *Witches, Midwives and Nurses*. Her column appears regularly.*

Delfino Varela

Undocumented workers Hidden problem that went public

Since comprehensive world-wide immigration laws began to appear on U.S. statute books in 1924, an ever-growing body of immigrants have entered the U.S. by extra-legal means. To the Immigration & Naturalization Service, the Justice department, the labor movement, and other parts of the establishment, these immigrants are known as "illegal aliens." But to the increasingly conscious and militant Mexican and Latin communities, which are centers of welcome and refuge for these immigrants, they are people without documents.

The Mexican and Latin communities who provide the magnet and the protective environment for the extralegal immigrants feel that no human is "illegal," and that if the immigrants are here without documents they are here on lands taken from Mexico by force of military arms a scant 130 years ago, and have been forced out of their native lands by unemployment and starvation under a cruel system of underdevelopment, exploitation, and unemployment kept in place by the U.S.

Congress compounds the problem.

The Eastern Establishment has provided most of the representatives and senators who have developed our immigration policy. These Easterners, Peter Rodino (D-NJ), Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass) and Joshua Eilberg (D-Pa), for example, together with their friends in the old European white ethnic communities of the East Coast and the hierarchy of the U.S. labor movement, see immigration as European, and coming through easily controlled ports of entry. Their response to the ever-increasing flow of immigrants without documents has, therefore, been more and more to tighten up the laws.

In 1963, in response to growing pressure from labor, the State and Justice departments imposed a requirement for the Labor department to certify that an immigrant from Mexico had a job for which there was a scarcity of American workers and that the wage offered the immigrant was the highest prevailing U.S. wage. This requirement became frozen into the immigration laws in 1965, effectively cutting off legal immigration except for immediate relatives of U.S. citizens or permanent residents.

What Washington officialdom, the Congress and the labor hierarchy have failed to appreciate is that the U.S./Mexican border is a huge 3,000-mile border that cuts in two a large economic region over which the work force has traveled back and forth to work for centuries. Increasingly the region is traveled by workers from as far South as Argentina.

The more Congress and the administration have shut off the possibilities of legal immigration, the greater the necessity has become for extra-legal immigration.

High hopes for Carter's proposals.

For a harassed Mexican and Latin community the victory of President Jimmy Carter created high hopes for change. During the election campaign liberal Democrats in the House of Representatives through highly secretive and clever maneuvers in the last two days of Congress passed the Eilberg amendments of 1976. These cut visas for Mexicans by 60 percent and cut out parents of U.S. citizens or permanent residents. President Ford signed the legislation saying that at the next congress, if elected, he would introduce legislation to correct the bill he was signing.

The first signs of the Carter administration were good. Lione Castillo was appointed commissioner of immigration and naturalization, the first Mexican to ever hold a position of such high responsibility and prestige. A cabinet level committee was appointed to develop the administration's immigration package, and hopes ran high throughout the East Coast, Southwest, and the West Coast.

For a harassed Mexican and Latin community the victory of President Jimmy Carter created high hopes for change. The first signs were good.

It soon became apparent, however, that the administration was deeply divided on its understanding and perspectives of the problem. Labor Secretary Ray Marshall reflected the regressive and repressive approach of the labor hierarchy. Commissioner Castillo reflected the feeling of the Mexican and Latin communities that instead of more oppressive controls, existing labor legislation should be utilized to enforce minimum wage and minimum standards of employment and to correct the abuses of the undocumented workers, thus lessening their competitive effect on citizens and permanent residents. Attorney General Griffin Bell proposed a universal card, so that only documented workers could get jobs.

What finally emerged on Aug. 2 after months of discussions was a hodge-podge that pleased no one.

Limited amnesty.

The proposals would grant a right of permanent residence to anyone in the U.S. prior to Jan. 1, 1970. The major component of the undocumented work force consists of immigrants from Mexico. Only 25 percent of them would benefit, according to attorney Velma Martinez, who replied to Castillo's speech at the annual banquet of the Mexican/American Legal and Education Fund at Los Angeles. Mexican immigrants tend to travel back and forth between the U.S. and their families in Mexico, and are far less likely to qualify for the continuous residence requirement than immigrants from Europe and Latin America.

The second Carter proposal would grant a conditional five-year residence permit to all undocumented workers who entered the U.S. between Jan. 1, 1970, and December 31, 1976. These workers would have the right to live here, work and travel between the U.S. and their homelands. They would pay all taxes required of citizens and residents but could not reunite their families and would not be entitled to government benefits. As Castillo ob-

served at the MALDEF banquet, "I am sure MALDEF and other groups will sue us on this one."

The third Carter proposal is to bring into law the despised Rodino bill, which would impose fines, injunctions and possible jail and imprisonment on employers of workers without documents. Unemployment in many Latin and Mexican ghettos is running as high as 22 percent and the imposition of fines and penalties on employers of undocumented workers would increase the rate.

Finally, border control is to be beefed up to double its present strength and large-scale electronic surveillance of the Mexican border is to be added.

Joint commissions to develop economic and immigration policies are to be established between the U.S. and Mexico and Latin countries. There has been a joint U.S.-Mexico immigration commission operating for the past three years, but Congress paid no heed to its existence or recommendations when it adopted the Eilberg amendments in the closing days of the 94th Congress.

Recommendations for change.

The best short-run solution would be to provide for unhampered legal immigration of an additional 50,000 people per year from Mexico. The present level of



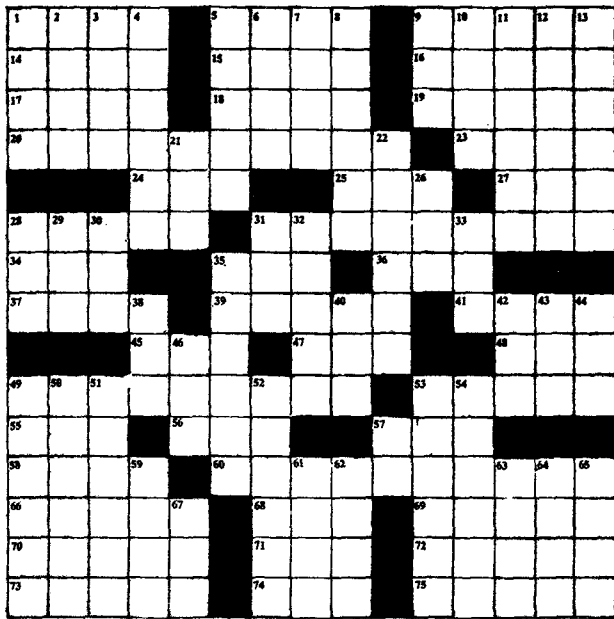
20,000 per country from Latin America, with a maximum total of 120,000 per year for the Western Hemisphere seems to be adequate to meet the demand for visas from Canada, Central and South America. The new combined Mexico, Canada and Latin America, total of 170,000 is what is what is now allowed for the Eastern Hemisphere. The elimination of the requirement for labor certification would remove an impossible barrier for the semi-skilled and unskilled workers who form the bulk of the Mexican and Latin immigrant pool.

The reduction of the residence requirement for application for U.S. citizenship to three years from the present five years and permitting the citizenship exam to be taken in the applicant's own language would make it possible for immigrants to become full participants in American social and economic life within a short time of their arrival.

Finally, instead of a one-time amnesty date, any person in the U.S. for five years, holding a job and not a public charge should be allowed to register with the Immigration Service and become a permanent resident. This would provide an ongoing method of coping with the problem of workers in the U.S. without documents and would eliminate the depressing effect of their presence on wages and working conditions.

Delfino Varela has been active in the Los Angeles Mexican community since 1955. A founder of the Council on Mexican Affairs, Varela is also active in the Mexican-American Political Association and the National Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices.

Inversion by David Mermelstein



Across:

- 1 Hick
- 5 Epic poet
- 9 Organization's name based on his song
- 14 Addict
- 15 Military group: Abbr.
- 16 Type of acid
- 17 Prima donna
- 18 Meeting places
- 19 Casts off, as hair or skin
- 20 Organization's 1969 Chicago activity
- 23 Thirsty
- 24 Suffix for count or lion
- 25 "... flew over ..."
- 27 Lipton's or twining's
- 28 Prevaricators
- 31 "... to know which way the ...": song of

9 Down

- 34 Radical org. of '60s
- 35 Feminist (usually) sessions: Abbr.
- 36 ... supra (where mentioned above)
- 37 100 yard or Sam
- 39 To go, in Nice
- 41 ... pong
- 45 Neuter form of his or her
- 47 Boston's direction from K.C.: Abbr.

48 Cohn or Rogers

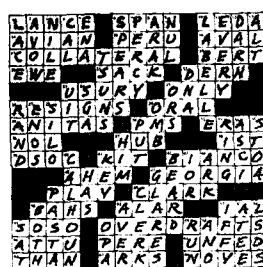
- 49 Lawyer or 1 Down, and family
- 53 23'rd is famous
- 55 Liberal political group: Abbr.
- 56 Frequent prefix to -ism or -ist
- 57 Hide of young beast
- 58 Former Portuguese money of account
- 60 Occupied in '68 by 34 Across
- 66 Come in
- 68 Char
- 69 ... fixe
- 70 Uninverted leader
- 71 Type of suit
- 72 Ike and ... Turner
- 73 Four-legged animals, in Soho
- 74 Patty's former (?) org., et al.
- 75 Cardinal's Slaughter

Down:

- 1 Surrendered voluntarily Sept. 14, 1977
- 2 U.S. propaganda org.
- 3 Flock, as of larks or quail
- 4 Rubber
- 5 Devotees
- 6 Lyre
- 7 ... avis

- 8 Kind of fly
- 9 ... Kapital
- 10 One of the Y's
- 11 Was told untruths
- 12 Jackson or Johnson
- 13 ... can be (prying busy-body)
- 21 CIA's precursor
- 22 Last
- 26 Wane
- 28 Acid
- 29 Occupiers demanded this agency be removed from campus: Abbr.
- 30 Blockhead
- 31 Pacifist org.
- 32 Small island
- 33 Sass
- 35 Relaxed
- 38 First of Latin threesomes
- 40 Printer's measures
- 42 Mouths
- 43 Cambodian tyrant, Lon ...
- 44 Issue in '68 sit-in
- 46 Jones or Mix
- 49 City on the Rio Grande
- 50 ... bust, sign of utopian hitchhiker
- 51 Religions
- 52 Perches
- 53 Former name of Bklyn. school where Genovese, Leacock, Levinson and Mage once taught: Abbr.
- 54 Elf
- 57 Ousted president of Columbia, et al.
- 59 Withered
- 61 Well-being
- 62 Actress Turner
- 63 Tennis score
- 64 Divorce haven
- 65 Positive votes
- 67 Hospital professionals

Solution to October 19 puzzle.



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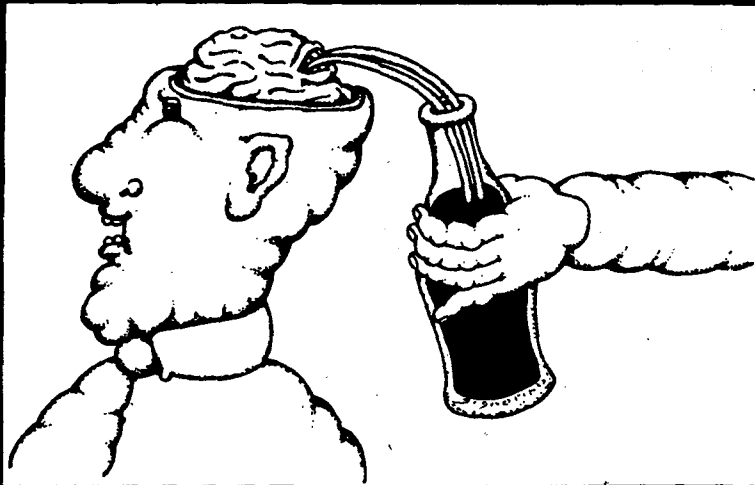
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DIALOG

A statement by Corliss Lamont on the ACLU and the FBI

I am currently a member of the American Civil Liberties Union and also served on its board of directors for 23 years, from 1931 to 1954. Hence I am in a position to comment from personal experience on the ACLU's affairs and especially on the recent exposures that in the 1950s there was close collaboration between high officials of the ACLU and the FBI.

A careful sifting of the more than 10,000 pages out of some 20,000 in the FBI files on the ACLU shows that during the great anti-Communist witch-hunt collaboration was so intimate that top officers of the two organizations acted as spies and informers for one another. It also reveals that members of ACLU governing committees handed over to the FBI confidential documents, including correspondence between ACLU officials, drafts of position papers and even minutes of meetings.

An official news release on the situation by the Civil Liberties Union states: "The files show that on a number of occasions, almost entirely during the McCarthy era, certain persons who were then ACLU officials were in contact with the FBI to provide or obtain information about the political beliefs or affiliations of other ACLU members and officials, particularly those who were thought to be Communists. Whatever their motive, such contacts with the FBI were wrong, inexcusable and destructive of civil liberties principles. These incidents took place in a different era and are contrary to the way the ACLU operates today."

I am one of the few surviving ACLU board members from the early '50s. During those years I was under considerable pressure when officers of the organization became worried over a ridiculous rumor that I was a member of the Communist party. Patrick Murphy Malin, then ACLU executive director, called on J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, and asked him if the rumor was true. Hoover said "No."

When Malin reported this visit to a full meeting of the ACLU board of directors, I protested strongly that it violated our principles of independence and, in effect, gave the FBI clearance power in the selection of ACLU officers. No other board member raised the slightest objection, but they did vote not to mention Malin's little interview in the

minutes of the meeting. During the same period, Malin sought the help of the FBI in trying to keep Communists off the boards of affiliates in Detroit, Los Angeles, Denver and Seattle.

Morris L. Ernst, who for 25 years shared the general counselship of the Civil Liberties Union with Arthur Garfield Hayes, played a special role in the relations of the organization with the FBI. He became J. Edgar Hoover's personal attorney and referred to him as a "treasured friend." Ernst was not only a prime mover in the general ACLU/FBI collaboration, but independently started to pass information to the FBI as early as 1942.

The collaboration between the ACLU leadership and the FBI was a scandalous betrayal of American civil liberties. It stemmed directly from the fanatical anti-Communism of the times, typified by the rantings of Sen. Joseph McCarthy. Many ACLU personnel swallowed McCarthy's moonshine about a terrible Communist threat and became more concerned with exposing and crushing Communists than with preserving civil liberties. This was a crass violation of the trust that had been placed in the leadership of the Civil Liberties Union by the general membership of the organization and the American people.

Although the *New York Times* has established beyond doubt the guilt of the ACLU officers, it printed, on Aug. 14, an editorial, "A Predicament for Civil Libertarians," that in effect apologized for the double dealing of the responsible persons. Said the *Times*: "It is not easy in 1977 to recall the temper of the 1950s and the situation that confronted dedicated people in and out of government, as they attempted to respond both to the threat of Communism and the threat of those who were willing to suppress civil liberties in the name of anti-Communism. They made serious errors, but the problems they grappled with were hard. Condemnation by hindsight is too simple a judgment."

Yet how else are we to condemn misconduct except by hindsight that takes into account all the facts? The *Times* position, with its reliance on the Cold War myth of a Communist menace within the U.S., will not be accepted by true civil libertarians of firm ethical principle.

We can be thankful that the present leaders of the Civil Liberties Union had no part in the ACLU/FBI collaboration and are opposed to any such compromise of principle. For many years now the ACLU has been doing a most creditable job.

At the same time it is to be remembered that all through the McCarthy era and down to the present there were organizations, such as the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the National Lawyers Guild, the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, whose every member stood firm for civil liberties and against FBI influence and infiltration. All sincere civil libertarians today, in light of the ACLU/FBI revelations, need to remain on the alert to see that such a disaster never occurs again.

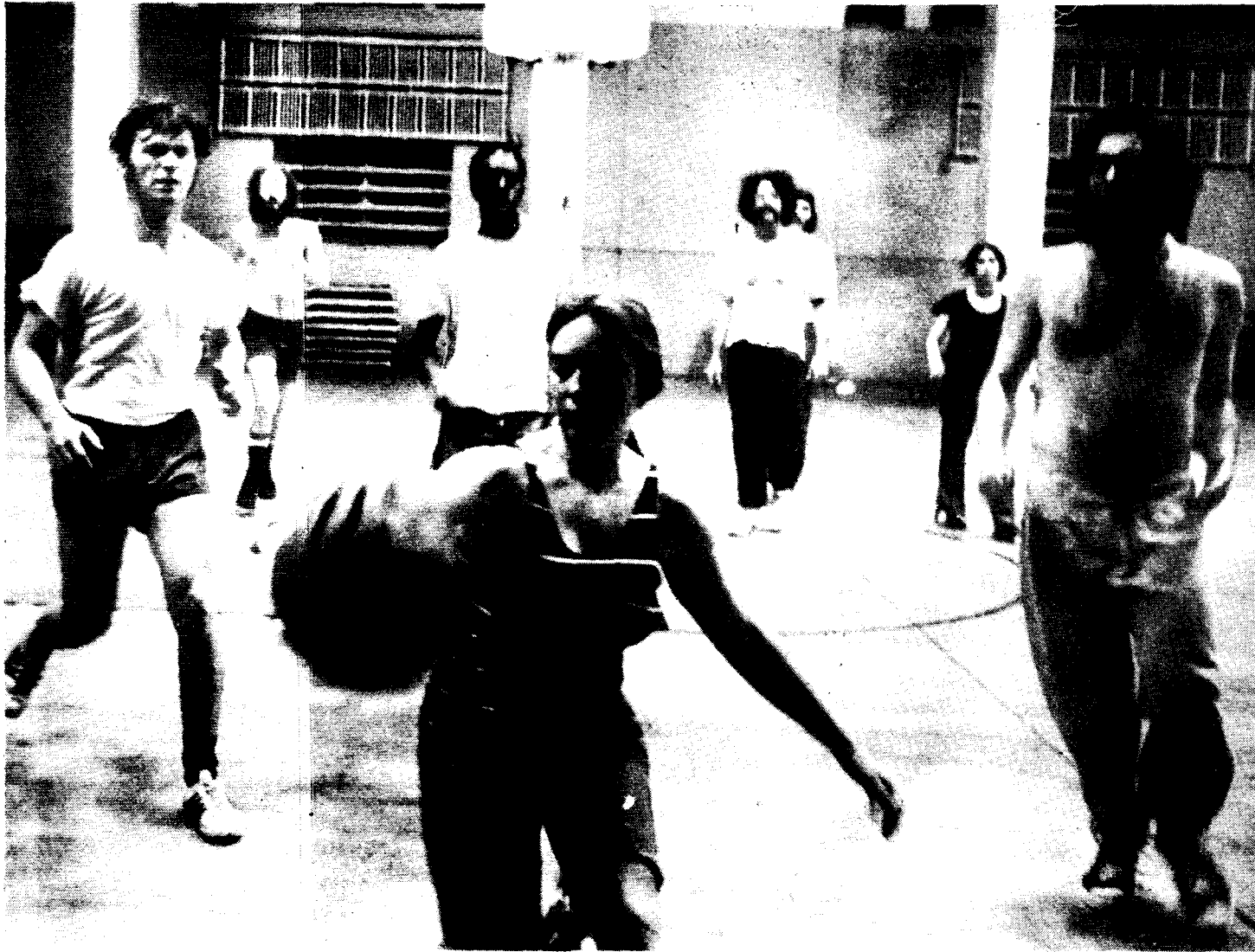


"I wish you wouldn't refer to me as a 'fellow traveler.'"

LIFE IN THE U.S.

SPORTS

Would you shoot yourself over fumbles?



Jane Melnick

Is interest in sport today a means of propagating a male culture of violence and domination, as in the movie *Slapshot* (below)? Or is it one of the main creative outlets in our society? Sports commentators Mark Naison and Jack Russell and reviewer Simon Rosenblum argue the question.



An opiate of the masses

FANS!: How We Go Crazy Over Sports
By Michael Roberts
New Republic Book Co., Washington,
\$8.95

In 1973 a Colorado man attempted suicide by shooting himself in the head. His suicide note referred to the Denver football team that fumbled seven times that day in a losing effort to the Chicago Bears. The note read: "I have been a Broncos fan since the Broncos were first organized, and I can't stand their fumbling anymore."

Most fans obviously don't go that crazy, but sports have an unquestionably deep influence on our lives. Michael Roberts uncovers the pervasiveness of what Robert Lipsyte has called the "Sports World."

Roberts describes the ethnic and regional loyalties that athletic teams are able to manipulate, the celebrity status of star athletes and their incredible salaries and the utilization of athletes by corporate and political forces. (I wonder what he would have thought about Bill Walton's picture on a recent *ITT* front page!)

Irreverent and often very funny, *Fans* is a useful journalistic description of the impact of sport on American life. Unfortunately, the book does not ask the obvious question: *why* do we go crazy over sports?

It has become increasingly apparent that the locus of oppression in advanced capitalism is not confined to the factory, but extends to every aspect of life—from sexuality to technology, from language to the sports arena. Indeed, sport may provide a touchstone for understanding how people live, work and think.

A number of writers have suggested that America's enthusiasm for sports events brings to mind the decadence of the Roman empire, when similar physical exercises formed a circus spectacle that whipped up the tired nerves of paying spectators.

Former *Look* magazine sports editor, Leonard Schecter said, "We play our games, or watch them contested with the same ferocity with which we fight a war in Vietnam and with as little reason or sense." Indeed such a noted social critic as Spiro Agnew has remarked that "sports—all sport—is one of the few bits of glue that holds society together."

This review is not a systematic attempt to locate sport in the totality of American society. Rather it is a tentative effort to explain the exaggerated emphasis placed on sport by many American males. I do not claim to know the whole picture and will simply call them as I see them.

Male socialization.

Sports tend to dominate the childhood and adolescence of males. Primarily they are important to the father-son relationship and secondly, the actual and vicarious participation in sports is the means through which male children become "men."

Sports are one of the prime ways young men are brought together (even though they might be competing against one another). The American boy is prepared, through adult pressures, for a life of dedication to sport.

In most case, he is a "has-been" by his late teens, and he then joins the army of spectators. Men cling to sports after the illusions of youth as it provides a reassurance of masculinity in a society in which the ordinary male has fewer and fewer opportunities to "prove" he is a "man."

Continued on page 24.

Sports debate

Continued from page 23.

Sports are a shared pleasure and a field of competition among observers and provide one of the few available outlets for male communication. They have become an unparalleled device for a society that wants to avoid issues, to keep things impersonal, to "enjoy" people without laying oneself open or committing oneself to them, and to have "fun" in the process.

In many respects sport has become the contemporary opiate of the masses. Sport appears to be an "answer" to the discontentment that man feels. Life is not all it should be; there is a great void that the daily activities of life simply do not fill. In the past people have turned to religion to take care of this need. Today many turn to sport to provide that something extra in life.

Interest in sport today is a direct reaction against the mechanization, the division of labor and the standardization of life in a capitalist civilization that robs people of their power to make decisions and their creativity. Every weekend, tens of millions of men sit before their TV sets and stadiums and arenas, rising with their victories, falling with their defeats, and emerging temporarily purged of their anger, their frustrations, their feelings of impotence.

Meaning in a dull life.

Athletic contests bring some temporary excitement and meaning into the often meaningless lonely lives of American males. A dull insignificant job is more easily endured if one is able to spend evenings and weekends watching exciting sports events. When he is cheering for his team, he is really cheering for himself as well. When he screams insults and abuse upon the opposition sports unit, he is verbally assaulting those forces he has confronted and that so often have combined to frustrate his own personal achievement and his own social and psychological health and security.

Furthermore, team loyalties formed in adolescence and maintained throughout adulthood serve in a nostalgic way to bring a certain reassurance of continuity into the personal lives of many Americans.

Many commentators have suggested that the militarization of American society accompanied by the Vietnam war led to the replacement of baseball by the more militarized and violent game of pro football as the nation's most popular sport. One finds frequent reference to the "Nixon game plans" regarding that president's political and economic strategies. At the same time, people involved in sport speak of "throwing the bomb" and "blitzing."

In truth, football fans seem to have become largely callous to the violence of the game. The action on the field attracts and holds the spectator as it allows imagined direction of the whole intricate show. Elaborate offensive and defensive maneuvers, discussions of field generalships, and so on, reinforce both the image of strong men running things and the desire to control and manipulate a complex technical environment by skillful measures.

An unhealthy component.

What are we to make of the sport phenomenon? It is not the intent of this writer to maintain that athletic activity and even sports spectatorship cannot be a healthy and pleasurable part of life. Rather it is to suggest that the values associated with, and the emphasis given to sport (especially in its spectator status) are presently an unhealthy and passifying component of American life.

The direct political effect was summed up a few years ago by Stanley Aronowitz: "As long as the workers can participate in the games through betting and drain their passions in heated arguments about whether Mays or Mantle was the greatest all-round outfielder of all time, the system has a few years left."

The centrality of sport in American culture presents socialists with a political challenge: to offer a version of human life that might give people the meaning and identity they search for in sport. Play ball!

—Simon Rosenblum

Creativity and freedom

Simon Rosenblum's article makes some interesting observations about the role of sports in American society, but I find it hard to accept his view that you can explain the American passion for sports wholly in terms of efforts to reaffirm masculine identity and to compensate for feelings of impotence in the home and at the workplace.

Although Rosenblum doesn't say so directly, he implies that there is nothing intrinsic in the experience of playing or watching sports that is worthy of the time and attention that American men devote to it, and therefore, that radicals need to find ways of directing all that energy into more politically constructive channels.

Although I agree that the routinization of labor, the erosion of community life, and changes in male/female relationships are important forces shaping the development of sports in the U.S., I do not think that sports serve the politically repressive function Rosenblum attributes to them.

First of all, I have never seen any evidence that shows that athletes or sports fans are less politically active or aware than the rest of the citizenry.

The widespread participation of college and professional athletes in the protest movements of the '60s certainly suggests that sports are not the opiate some intellectuals make it out to be and that the "dumb jocks" are not always so dumb after all.

Secondly, I feel that Rosenblum presents a very one-sided explanation of popular enthusiasm for sport. Certainly, sports play an important role in male socialization in the U.S., and are used, upon occasion, to rouse nationalist feeling, but that's not the only, or even the primary reason why people like them.

Sports are one of the main creative outlets available to people in advanced industrial societies, an activity in which they can display artistry and ingenuity in a collective setting and win recognition for their skills. From childhood on, the ball field is a place where many people are a lot freer to express themselves than in their homes, schools and work places and this experience (for those who have it) can create powerful positive feelings that last a lifetime.

In addition, Rosenblum fails to take into account the genuine aesthetic appeal of athletic events to spectators. A twisting dismount by Nadia Comaneci, a slam dunk by Julius Erving, a leaping catch by Lynn Swann, the total strategic unity of a tennis match played by Chris Evert or Billie Jean King, provide images of dexterity, grace and mental discipline that are unexcelled in any of the cultural activities that intellectuals have defined as "high art." The millions of people who cherish these moments are no less sensitive or discerning in their judgments than followers of the ballet, modern dance, theater or poetry.

Rosenblum's picture of the sports fan as hypnotized and stupefied by the spectacle, in my view, shows considerable condescension and a trace of class prejudice.

As Rosenblum implies, the most vociferous sports fans in the country are working class men, and their banter, in the locker room and in the bar, is often filled with sexist comments and ethnic slurs. But in their analysis of the events on the field, they often display great subtlety, technical knowledge, and appreciation of beauty and excellence. On occasion, they transcend their prejudices and express admiration for a woman or an ethnic rival when their performance commands respect.

Such people should not be romanticized—indeed, they may have to be sharply confronted on their sexism in struggles to get women into Little Leagues or to win equal funding for women in school and community sports programs—but their attachment to sports should be viewed in its full complexity and not explained away with compensation theories.

Life-affirming possibilities.

The difference in the way Rosenblum and I see sports does have strategic implications. Although I would be the last one to try to minimize the role sports play in this country in perpetuating rigid and repressive definitions of male-female identity, I think it's more useful to fight to break down barriers to athletic participation for women than it is to try to get men to devote their attention to more "constructive" endeavors.

Women are working so hard to get into sports because they recognize that there is something worthwhile in it that's been denied them, not because they seek to escape their political responsibilities or ease the pain of daily life.

I think it's time for the left to recognize the life-affirming potentialities of sport as well as its negative dimensions and to show respect for the feelings of those involved in it.

If we do that, our efforts to reform American sports will be on much firmer ground and win far greater support. Many athletes and sports fans are quite open to criticism of specific aspects of sports in this country—exclusion of women, discrimination against blacks, excessive commercialism and violence—if it is rooted in a love of the game.

But if you denounce the entire experience as corrupt, you threaten one of their greatest sources of joy and satisfaction and implying that they must be stupid to devote so much time to such a degraded activity. That's an excellent way to turn people against you and discredit your proposals for reform.

The democratization of American sports still lies ahead of us. It would be a pity if we fail to achieve it because of a sectarian outlook and a lack of confidence in those whose support we need.

—Mark Naison

An art form impermanent

This morning at dawn I ran for miles over the hills of my childhood and fished and swam in the lake where I first practiced these ancient skills. This evening I will share a radio, some beers, and a ball

game with my brother-in-law. He is a carpenter at the shipyard and takes his baseball seriously. As the Red Sox go for 12 in a row we will sit in loving judgment.

In this brief interlude the world asserted by Simon Rosenblum seems unreal.

Except: last night I went to town and saw *Slap Shot*. One motif of the film shows the fans of an artless minor league hockey club quickly reduced to a degraded mob when their no-talent team goes bullyboy and starts winning. The worst left-critical clichés about sport and sports fans! Unfortunately, the audience in the Main theater shared the film's confusion. Local folks, summer people and casual tourists alike were delighted *both* by the caricature of the rabid fans *and* by the on-ice cheap shots that set them frothing.

Which part of my day was most representative of what our sports now do for us and to us: my own solitary devotions, or the ceremony of the Red Sox broadcast, or the movie patrons mirroring, even to the very yelps and curses, the debased fans in *Slap Shot*?

Who knows? I don't. Thus I'm encouraged when a socialist newspaper initiates a serious discussion of the mass psychology of sport. I side with Mark Naison in the exchange. For all that sport as regimentation and commodity may do to reinforce the barbarities of capitalist culture, surely Simon Rosenblum's assertions are suspect.

In his vision, the representative American sports fan is a working class male who, alienated from work, family and his own sexuality, seeks surrogate satisfactions as one of the automatized herd rooting for the home team. My brother-in-law, my weightroom buddies in Detroit, and the wonderful women of Section 37/Tiger Stadium would all be surprised by this news.

Naison makes an essential point often missed by an alienated and isolated American left: millions prize sport for aesthetic joy. Our games can be an impermanent art, rich in variety and surprise, an opportunity for innovation and creation. Played by the best, our sports become the jazz of bodily expression.

Unless we see and share this we can hardly begin the tasks of analysis, critique, exemplary intervention and organization which will someday bring forth a movement for a people's sport.

—Jack Russell

Sports Quiz "The Ethnic Factor"

By Mark Naison and Fred Siegel

- Two of the greatest pro football fullbacks of all time were of Eastern European ancestry, one Polish and one Hungarian. Who were they?
- Name three Jewish-Americans who fought Joe Louis for the heavyweight championship.
- Which two Latin-American baseball players from the 1960s and '70s had fathers who were famous athletes in the 1930s and '40s?
- At various times, Jewish-Americans held professional boxing titles in the following divisions: lightweight, middleweight, light heavyweight, and heavyweight. Who were the titleholders in those divisions?
- Who was the greatest Polish-American baseball player of all time?
- Name two contemporary major league baseball players who are of American Indian ancestry.
- Name five baseball players of Italian-American ancestry who came from Brooklyn.
- Name three Latin-American tennis players who attended American universities and dominated American tennis in the late '50s and early '60s.
- A German-American woman was the first woman to ever swim the English Channel. Who was she?
- In the 1936 Olympics two Jewish-American members of the American 400-meter relay team were replaced at the last minute as a gesture to Adolph Hitler. Who were they?
- Name two pro-football quarterbacks of the 1960s and '70s who were of Mexican-American descent.
- Name two great athletes, one in baseball, one in football, who were of mixed Italian and Afro-American parentage.
- What Norwegian-American woman was considered the greatest female athlete of the 20th century?
- A black American, considered the greatest shortstop of all time, consistently outthit Ty Cobb in their encounters in the Cuban winter leagues. Who was he?

ANSWERS: 1. Bronko Nagurski, Polish; Larry Csonka, Hungarian; 2. Max Baer, Buddy Baer, and Abe Simon; 3. Willie Montañez, whose father was a boxer, and Orlando Cepeda, whose father was a baseball player; 4. Lightweight: Abe Attell and Benny Leonard; Middleweight: Barney Ross; Light Heavyweight: Maxie Rosenbloom; Heavyweight: Max Baer; 5. Stan Musial; 6. Johnny Bench and Buckey Dent; 7. Phil Rizzuto, Joe Torre, Frank Torre, Joe Pepitone, and Lee Mazzilli; 8. Alex Omede, Peru; Pancho Segura, Ecuador; Rafael Ojuna, Mexico; 9. Gentile Edente; 10. Martylickman and Sam Stoller; 11. Joe Kapp and Jim Plunkett; 12. Roy Campanella and Franco Harris; 13. Mildred "Babe" Didrikson; 14. John Henry Lloyd.

ART <>> ENTERTAINMENT

TELEVISION



The cast of *San Pedro Beach Bums*, including Christoff St. John, Lisa Reeves, Louise Hoven and others too numerous to mention.

Fall season TV falls short of expectations

If I had to choose between sex and violence, I'd choose sex every time. That's why I awaited with interest the new fall TV season, which had been touted as a retreat from the excessive violence that brought the wrath of so many citizens' groups down on the industry.

"Good for the media," I thought. After all, violence is about death while sex is—or should be—about life. Also sex is—or should be—about human relationships, both personal and political. It's a subject that lends itself to explorations of the changing roles of men and women and the wider range of choice we all have about how to live, with whom and on what terms.

That's what I thought.

But a review of the new season's openers punctured my optimism. This is the worst and most boring fall season I can remember.

Anyone who thinks the prime time shows are about sex may be tempted to become celibate. The Sexual Liberation League can relax. Most of the new shows—even those whose primary subject matter is "coupling"—aren't about sex at all. Sex is simply a vehicle for the expression of some common and quite reactionary social attitudes.

In both form and content most of the new shows represent a retreat from the realities of American life, follow very old formats and present very old models of social and personal relationships. *Love Boat* and *San Pedro Beach Bums*, to pick two examples, seem to be written by people who have been in a coma since 1958 and are resuming their lives as if nothing had happened since.

The setting of *Love Boat* is a luxury cruise ship. The plots re-

volve around the romantic goings-on of the passengers, most of whom are frantically trying to get together or back together. *Beach Bums* is downright offensive. It stars five young men whose sole activity is "getting girls." The first episode involved these red-blooded males' effort to keep the local beauty pageant going despite the threat of a pull-out by its financial backer. In *San Pedro* beauty pageants are not dated or deplorably sexist; they are the cultural event of the year.

And then there is *Soap*, the most controversial of the new shows, which is supposed to be a prime-time version of *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*. That

doesn't make it interesting or relevant. For unlike *Mary Hartman*, which placed its sexual material in the context of a working class community, *Soap* is a series of sexual one-liners, delivered by a crew of characters each of whom seems more shallow and less appealing than the last.

Sometimes the one-liners are funny. But Archie and Edith Bunker are funny too. And if you tune in *All in the Family* after watching *Soap*, you might get the impression that it's a profound work of art. After all, it does have complex characters dealing with serious issues.

Superficiality of character and theme is a problem not only in the new "sex" shows, but on virtually every new show from drama to adventure. I never thought I'd get nostalgic for *Police Story* or *Medical Center*, but watching *Chips* and *Rafferty* brought it on. At least the old shows tried to develop human personalities and experiences, even if they did it in a corny, melodramatic style.

The new ones determinedly avoid any serious dramatic material or themes. They keep jumping from incident to incident at such a pace that it's impossible to remember, much less relate to any single story line.

Chips involves two thoroughly adolescent motorcycle cops, who rush from crime to crime with an excess of noise, disaster and flamboyant chatter that leaves you with a headache.

Rafferty moves from one medical crisis to another in an equivalent flurry of noise, excitement and sensationalism. The main character is an inhuman boor, but he never stands still long enough to call attention to that. He's a moving target that no emotion—even contempt or anger—can zero in on.

It seems as if the networks have decided to get around the problem of violence on TV by replacing "realistic" (i.e. graphically) violent crime shows like *Kojak* with a bunch of action-oriented, simple-minded, escapist fantasies, in which sex (as represented by the *Playboy* center-fold subjects) replaces blood and gore as the "draw."

It also seems that the programming for this new season represents a backlash against progressive trends that have characterized prime-time commercial TV in the last few years. Shows like *All in the Family*, *One Day at a Time*, *Good Times* and *Maude*—(the list is surprisingly long!) did a lot to popularize progressive attitudes toward race, sexual minorities, working people and women.

If all that is being scrapped in favor of outdated or escapist fare, it can only mean that the networks are running scared and trying to shove a lot of garbage down our throats.

Fortunately the audience is not holding still for it. Already several of the new crop of shows have been cancelled due to poor ratings and universally bad reviews.

If the network heavies don't watch out, they're going to find themselves without an audience.

—Elayne Rapping

Elayne Rapping is a teacher in Pittsburgh and reviews TV for *IN THESE TIMES*.



Gavin MacLeod and Lauren Tewes in *The Love Boat*.

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Records



Ornette Coleman and his alto sax.

A monumental work in the history of black music...

LIVE AT THE HILCREST CLUB

Paul Bley-Ornette Coleman (Inner City)

DANCING IN YOUR HEAD

Ornette Coleman (Horizon-A&M)

These two records offer us glimpses of alto-saxophonist composer Ornette Coleman at different stages of his musical development.

The Hilcrest record is a never-before-issued live 1958 set at a progressive jazz club located in what was a racially mixed neighborhood on the west side of Los Angeles.

For the most part, the Los Angeles of the late '50s was not ready for the revolutionary sounds which Ornette was laying down at this time. During his stay there, he was constantly out of work.

Some of the music jobs that came his way during this period were provided through the efforts of young L.A. Communists although he himself never joined the CP. Making matters worse, his new musical approach was misunderstood by other more traditional jazz musicians, many of whom refused even to jam with him.

Finally, he landed a job as a sideman with pianist Paul Bley, from whose private tapes the Hilcrest record was culled. It was the last job that Ornette was ever to take as a sideman, and the session that resulted marks a turning point not only for Ornette but for black music.

Both the intensity of feeling that characterizes the music and its historical significance are evident in the album's first track—"Klactoveesedstene." Ornette is joined here by Bley, Billy Higgins on drums, Charlie Haden on bass and Don Cherry on trumpet. While the tune is a Parker composition, its treatment by the Hilcrest group—especially Ornette's solo—provides a signpost for what was later to be heard in the "free-jazz" of the '60s.

By 1958, the once revolutionary sounds of "bebop" had become as stale and formalistic as the "swing" music it had supplanted. Ornette, whose roots were in the Texas rhythm-and-blues scene was to breathe new life into black music by experimenting with its rhythmic possibilities and restoring improvisation to the forefront. Ornette's music in L.A. and even more, his sound after he took up residence in New York represents a unique blend of the traditional and the futuristic.

That his music today retains this dialectical tension can be seen in his current release (his first since 1972), *Dancing in Your Head*. The musical concept of the album is one Ornette describes as "harmonic," i.e., the rhythms, harmonies and tempos are all equal in relationship and independent melodies at the same time.

The constant flow of fresh improvisational ideas is rooted in the blues, but they transform the idiom, freeing it up in such a way that blues music can never again be limited to a traditional framework. In this sense, it is a monumental work in the history of black music.

The record ends with an excerpt from a tape of a 1973 "blowing session" which has Ornette playing in combination with the Master Musicians of Joujouka, a small village in the foothills of the Rif Mountains in northern Morocco. The Joujouka musicians are in touch with the tradition of the ecstatic dervish dancers and the Pipes of Pan. In the piece entitled "Midnight Sunrise," they play "rhaïtas" (double reed horns with flared bells, somewhat like oboes), cane flutes and drums of all sizes and shapes, while Ornette soars on alto, exploring the Third World roots of black music in the context of a transcendent musical experience.

As a complement to the side of Ornette that consciously seeks out his racial and spiritual roots is a pointedly political side. He has said of the problems faced by the black artist under the capitalist system in the U.S., "The problem is that in this business you don't own your own product. If you record, it's the record company that owns it; if you play at a club, it's the nightclub owners who charge people to listen to you, and then they tell you your music is not catching on...."

"What I mean is, in jazz, the Negro is the product. The way they handle the publicity on me, about how far out I am and everything, it gets to be that I'm the product myself. So if it's me they're selling, if I'm the product, then the profits couldn't come back to me, you dig? ...The insanity of living in America is that ownership is really strength. It's who owns who's strongest in America. It's strategic living. That's why it's so hard to lend your music to that kind of existence." (In *Black Music* by A.B. Spellman, Schocken, 1966.)

If you let yourself experience his music, Ornette says the same thing through his horn.

—Ron Sakolsky

Ron Sakolsky reviews jazz regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

OSAMU (Island)

A strange and lovely album which melds East and West, *Osamu* features as many as three electric guitars at a time (as well as synthesizers) but the overall effect is acoustic.

It's a nearly wordless album, save for a nature chant at the end of Side One. And the music is nearly impossible to describe—all kinds of sounds spun into a universal web of liveliness.

Osamu Kitajima, the tranquil force behind the record, is a young Japanese guitarist who released an album in the USA last year called *Banzaiten*, on Island's budget Antilles label. This time he's surrounded himself with English musicians, and Minnie Riperton lends her limitless voice to one cut.

The product of cultural and technological sophistication rarely encountered in non-classical records, this work flows effortlessly, a stream of sound that is painful to interrupt, even to turn the record over. It could be described as Oriental rock chamber music, of rare intimacy and peculiarly bent beauty.

An aural and emotional masterpiece, this *Osamu* album begs to be heard.

I ROBOT The Alan Parsons Project (Arista)

This is an unusual album. You can pick out all kinds of influences, from Procol Harum to the Temptations, and they're assimilated well, but it's hard to figure out whether the result is distinctive. I tend to doubt it.

Parsons, whose earlier claim to fame was a rock rendering of Edgar Allan Poe, has attempted to form an album around the story of a robot who's trying to get in touch with what it means to be human. Sort of like *Tommy* in reverse.

I Robot works in the same way *Star Wars* works—because of its technology, despite its plot.

It's hard to be sympathetic with this robot, but sometimes the musical effects are breathtaking. Parsons' production is unusually lucid, applying sophisticated electronic effects to normal rock instruments, plus such exotica as a "projectron," vocoder, cimbalom and Kantele. The "Nucleus" interlude is particularly striking.

True to form, this here robot is manufactured (one assumes) and lacks a human context or character, so the lyrics lack focus.

When Roger Daltry sang "See Me, Hear Me," he generated a response to the character of Tommy precisely because Tommy was a believable character. Besides, Daltry is a better singer than Allan Clarke of the Hollies or Steve Harley of Cockney Rebel, who are featured here.

Parts of *I Robot* are indeed majestic, evoking a vision of technological coldness waiting for passion to touch it to life. But these musical interludes (particularly "Total Eclipse" and "Genesis, IV, 32") don't make up for the predominant sterility.

I Robot is a soundtrack in search of a movie.

—Carlo Wolff

Carlo Wolff reviews records regularly for IN THESE TIMES.



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FILM

Pryor farce features UFW as the 'good guys'

WHICH WAY IS UP?

Screenplay by Carl Gottlieb and Cecil Brown, from Lina Wertmüller's *The Seduction of Mimi*
Directed by Michael Schultz
Starring Richard Pryor
Produced by Steve Krantz
Rated R

Which Way Is Up? is an amazingly successful cinematic transplant. Lina Wertmüller's farce comedy about a worker who lets himself be bribed and bullied into turning stooge has been uprooted from its Italian context and set down in the orange groves of Southern California, and it works. In some ways it works better than the original.

The context of *The Seduction of Mimi* was the on-going struggle between workers at both ends of the Italian peninsula against a generalized Mafioso-type class enemy. In this version it's the struggle of the United Farm Workers (led by the equivalent of Cesar Chavez) against the Associated Farmers, here called the Agri-Co.

Richard Pryor plays the Giancarlo Gianini role (and a couple of others just to show how versatile he is). Members of El Teatro Campesino play themselves as picketing-site picketers. The rest of the cast—male and female—is thoroughly into the farce tone and pace, convincing as working class characters, and good to look at.

The terrifying scene in the original where goons smash up a union meeting place while Mimi is celebrating the christening of his son on the floor above, becomes an attempt to gun down the Chavez character while he is addressing a typical UFW community-support rally. It's heavy stuff to be mixing with slapstick, but Pryor is very good at this sort of thing and the director, if not as innovative as Wertmüller, has learned from watching her.

The story, not so much "adapted" as lifted, is still that of a likeable but spineless young man who stumbles into trade unionism, is chased out of town by the bosses' goons, falls in with militants in another city and in love with a woman who accepts him under his false colors as a hero of the struggle from which he fled. The subplot is still the protagonist's need to keep two, eventually three women sexually satisfied. It is still low comedy, but not so low as in the Italian.

People who couldn't stomach the sequence in *Mimi* where Gianini found it "necessary" to seduce a revoltingly fat woman, will be gratified with the substitution of a grim-jawed preacher's wife, out for revenge on her own. The handling of this whole episode is better in *Which Way Is Up?*, and its sequel brings the added value of satirical treatment of religious hypocrisy. (The seducer with whom the Pryor character is trying

to square accounts is a sanctimonious Baptist minister—also played by Pryor.)

The reaction of a first-night audience—mostly black and all obviously Pryor fans—was loud and positive. What people laughed and/or cheered at would have startled a lot of political soothsayers and sociological analysts.

For example, the much-publicized hostility between blacks and Chicanos was nowhere evident. Neither in the groves nor in the growers' factory—nor anywhere else was there any conflict between ethnic groups. There aren't many white working stiff in the film, but even these exceptions fall on the sympathetic side of the dividing line between classes. That division is absolute. All the villains, and all their henchmen and women, are white and totally malignant.

More surprising was the audience reaction to the comic assault on the main character's machismo. In the Italian, Mimi is driven to violence against his neglected wife and "revenge" against the man who got her pregnant, and his friends and family accept this behavior as "normal." The audience watching Pryor in an identical scene cheers him on the way they have just cheered a re-run of Bruce Lee in a Kung Fu feature.

But when the wife discovers that he has another wife and baby on the side, her fury makes Pryor's look like love play. Since she



Richard Pryor proclaimed a hero of the pickers' struggle by Luis Valdez, who plays the union's organizer.

is clearly no physical match for him, she takes to knife-throwing, and the opening night audience got to its feet, stamping and urging her on.

One final point on the values lost and gained in the transplant, and it's a minus for *Which Way Is Up?* Wertmüller's Mimi is unmasked and deserted—for cause—by everyone he cares for at the end of the film. Pryor attempts to

buy it all back in a last-minute conversion.

All of a sudden the fatally weak accommodator turns on his tempter (the godfatherlike head of Agri-Co) and tells him off. He has learned which way is up, he says, and the final "Take that, you motherfucker" brings the audience once more to its feet cheering. Take that, Ms. Wertmüller.

Janet Stevenson

Bertolucci epic cut down to only four hours

1900

Directed by Bernardo Bertolucci, Franco Arcalli, and Guiseppe Bertolucci
Starring Robert De Niro, Dominique Sanda, Gerard Depardieu, Donald Sutherland, Burt Lancaster and Sterling Hayden
Distributed by Paramount

Few films manage to be both profoundly moving and genuinely political. Bernardo Bertolucci's long-awaited *1900*, which premiered in a 245-minute English version at the New York Film Festival, comes close to being both. An avowedly Marxist account of modern Italian history, *1900* is a film of monumental breadth and power, ultimately compromised by nostalgia for the past and a fascination with bourgeois decadence.

1900 counterposes the decline of a wealthy Veronese landowning family against the rise of a politically conscious peasantry.

It opens with the birth of the new century and the two protagonists — Alfred Berlinghieri (Robert De Niro) and Olmo Dalco (Gerard Depardieu)—and closes over 50 years later as Olmo witnesses his master's suicide under the wheels of a passing train. By juxtaposing the lives of these

two men, one born to leisure and wealth, the other to hard labor and a career as a Communist organizer, Bertolucci makes drama of the dialectical forces that have shaped modern Italy.

Part I captures with extraordinary beauty the glow of an almost forgotten era, coinciding with the youth of Alfredo and Olmo and the fledgling Italian nation. It lovingly evokes a rural paradise, in scenes of peasants raking hay, sitting down to steaming platters of polenta, dancing at a midsummer day frolic—the rituals of country life that bound master and peasant into a social structure based on order, continuity and mutual respect.

With the passing of Don Alfredo (Burt Lancaster) and Leo Dalco (Sterling Hayden), Olmo's grandfather, the old era ends and with it the traditional ways of rural life. Under Alfredo's father (Romolo Valli), the old customs are abandoned: day laborers dismissed, unwritten contracts broken, payment halved in times of crop failure. A bitter strike ensues; children are sent away; social consciousness grows. The paradise vanishes among images of strife and war, never to return.

The child Olmo, who left Verona brandishing a red flag, re-



Dominique Sanda and Robert De Niro and unidentified friend.

turns a man after World War I. The first thing he sees as he enters the quadrangle is a tractor jarring the pink facade of the outbuildings. An open ledger indicates the changed nature of contract relations between labor and master. A new element is added in the person of Attila (Donald Sutherland), the estate's new foreman and local fascist thug. The price of modernization is the birth of fascism.

If Part I is fundamentally nostalgic, Part II is melodramatic.

Bertolucci shares with Visconti (*The Damned*) a common European attitude that views the growth of fascism not in terms of class struggle, but as the result of the moral decay of the country's oligarchy, joined by the lower middle-class. Bertolucci makes no mention of Mussolini's march on Rome, his colonial wars or his economic policies. He ascribes the bourgeoisie's decline to its increasing sexual perversity. Fascists are the most decadent members of the class.

Only in the film's last 30 minutes does Bertolucci allow the peasants to regain their place center stage.

The year is 1945, and in a series of powerful scenes which Bertolucci calls "the key to the whole film," the peasants destroy once and for all the moral authority on which traditional rural society rests. Pursuing Attila and his wife Regina (Laura Betti) as they flee the estate, the peasants drag them from their bicycles, the men pierce the foreman's body with pitchforks while the women strip and shear Regina's well-kempt head.

In the name of Olmo, a young boy leads Alfredo at musket length to the center of the quadrangle. At the site of previous massacres and humiliations, the peasants hold trial. An old man thrusts his mutilated fingers in Alfredo's face. An old woman exposes her toothless gums.

The peasants proclaim him guilty of their communal sufferings. But at Olmo's insistence, they do not put him to death. Alfredo becomes a living symbol that the old *padrone* system is dead.

Visually and musically *1900* is splendid. Unfortunately, one cannot say the same of the script.

The dialogue bears the stamp

of a poor translator and is spoken without regard for the nuances of English, e.g., Alfredo's father, faced with a peasant uprising, says, "Property is inviolable."

The dubbing is atrocious. The peasant Olmo's voice is supplied by a British actor while landowner De Niro sounds as if he comes from lower Manhattan. The sound track simply inverts the class hierarchy of the film.

Bertolucci's disclaimers notwithstanding, the decision to release *1900* in a dubbed version and the use of American actors in leading roles was dictated by American backers, who hope to duplicate the profits of *Last Tango in Paris*. Bertolucci's acceptance of these terms represents an unfortunate compromise of artistic integrity.

Nevertheless, few films rise to the challenge of history. Fewer still strive to meet this challenge in a fictional rather than a documentary framework. Despite its shortcomings, Bertolucci's *1900*—at its best—is a work of remarkable power, vision and beauty.

—Lynn Garafola
Lynn Garafola reviews films regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

The Robeson controversy

The tour of Philip Hayes Dean's *Paul Robeson*, continues despite protests by Paul Robeson Jr., who has branded this portrayal of his father "an insult to his memory."

The play, which stars James Earl Jones, has been seen in St. Louis, Louisville, Philadelphia, Milwaukee and Cleveland, and will go to Chicago, Washington, D.C., and Boston before its scheduled February opening on Broadway.

A variant of the currently fashionable "one-man/woman show," this is closer to a "one-and-a-half man" drama. Jones speaks upwards of 80 percent of the lines, but shares the stage with Burt Wallace, who plays Robeson's long-time accompanist Lawrence Brown. Wallace provides the music and speaks lines for other important characters.

Many of the ingredients of good theater are present. Jones, who has recently given marvelous performances as a socialist baseball star in *Bingo Longo* and Malcolm X in *The Greatest*, exudes much of the presence—although little of the voice—that made Robeson a towering figure. What is lacking is a commitment to telling the truth about Robeson's life, which could have made the play as powerful as its subject.

The first of the two acts traces Robeson's incredible career as an All-American footballer and Phi Beta Kappa at Rutgers, a graduate of Columbia Law School, a world-renowned concert artist, and film and stage star.

The best of the vignettes, a conversation between young lawyer Robeson and a black woman janitress, captures some of Robeson's extraordinary ability to touch and be touched by the downtrodden.

But even in this section, the play suffers from attempts to "humanize" Robeson, which usually succeed only in casting a certain clownishness over his character. For example, there is a tortuously extended scene in which as a Rutgers freshman, he orders only "white" foods like rice and vanilla ice-cream to circumvent segregation at the college cafeteria.

The playwright ascribes Robeson's militancy to the example of his rebellious older brother, Reed, who carried a small bag of rocks to strike back at those who victimized him. Paul is portrayed as a jocular existential hero, an odd cross between characters out of Mark Twain and Sartre, wielding a larger and more artful bag of rocks. He is ever the lone battler, whether on stage or on the gridiron.

This is a distortion. Robeson's upbringing gave him a "Home in That Rock"—a secure place in the black community and a firm grounding in Afro-American culture. Beginning in the late '20s, Robeson broadened this sense of identity by a systematic investigation of African and Afro-American language and music. His close ties to British and Welsh workers during his London years further demonstrate that he lived out his conviction that "artists are not a race apart."

The second act is concerned with Robeson's activities in and after the 1950s. Jones' brief re-



James Earl Jones as Paul Robeson. Paul Robeson as himself.

citation from *Othello* is the high spot of the act, but the script fails to convey that Robeson's performance in the title role was among the great performances in the history of the American theater.

In the treatment of Robeson as a citizen—an antifascist, a civil rights activist, a supporter of the Soviet Union, a victim of McCarthyism—the script is equally deficient. There are moments of power (especially when Jones speaks Robeson's own words), but the meaning of Robeson's actions is obscured.

He is shown as a good, but utterly naive artist, caught in the whirlwinds of Nazism and McCarthyite hysteria, incapable of relating to such phenomena on any but an instinctual level. His antifascism, for example, seems to grow out of the cancellation of a Berlin concert date and the realization that the Nazis have produced a "city without music." Dean chooses to ignore Robeson's leadership of the Progressive party, the Council on African Affairs, the World Peace Council and the newspaper, *Freedom*.

Also distorted is Robeson's position on socialism. Paul Robeson Jr. has told interviewers that early drafts of the play contained outright falsifications, including the claim that his father became

an anti-communist before his death. In the scene in the present version where Robeson refuses to answer questions by HUAC concerning CP membership, he adds that he denied party membership as late as 1946. While this is narrowly accurate, it ignores the courage of a black leader who, at the height of repression, reaffirmed his "deep conviction that for all mankind a socialist society represents a higher stage of life."

There are numerous inaccuracies, some more, some less important. The overall impression is of hasty writing and small regard for historical fact. But the most serious shortcoming of this *Paul Robeson* is that it reduces the issues of the '50s to matters of personality. (It is as wide of the mark on Robeson's personality as it is on his politics.)

For over a quarter of a century the name of one of our most internationally prominent citizens was virtually expunged from the media and the public mind. This play will take the name of Paul Robeson across the country—the name, but not the story.

—David R. Roediger

David R. Roediger is a free-lance writer in Chicago and saw Paul Robeson in performance in St. Louis.

Statement by Robeson's son

"I HAVE SEEN PAUL ROBESON, A ONE-MAN play with James Earl Jones. The play is a fictionalized and distorted portrayal of Paul Robeson that misrepresents the most important aspects of his life. It trivializes the Paul Robeson story and makes his basic character unrecognizable.

This production whittles down the giant stature of Paul Robeson to such an extent that he is made to resemble the false image that has been created by the white establishment. His powerful message to all oppressed peoples and to black Americans in particular is diffused and lost in a mass of confusion.

Anyone who takes the time can easily see through this crude commercialization of Paul Robeson's name by reading his own book, *Here I Stand* (Beacon Press), by listening to recordings of his performances and viewing film of him.

My father's own words and deeds provide the best criticism of this play, which I consider to be an insult to his memory."

—Paul Robeson Jr.

Paul Robeson Jr. told IN THESE TIMES that readers interested in a correct and deepened understanding of his father ought to press local radio stations to play his records and local PBS and ABC TV outlets to make available to viewers two excellent documentaries: the one-hour WNET-Washington *A Profile of Paul Robeson* and the ABC hour-and-a-half documentary done by Gil Noble for his program, "Like It Is."